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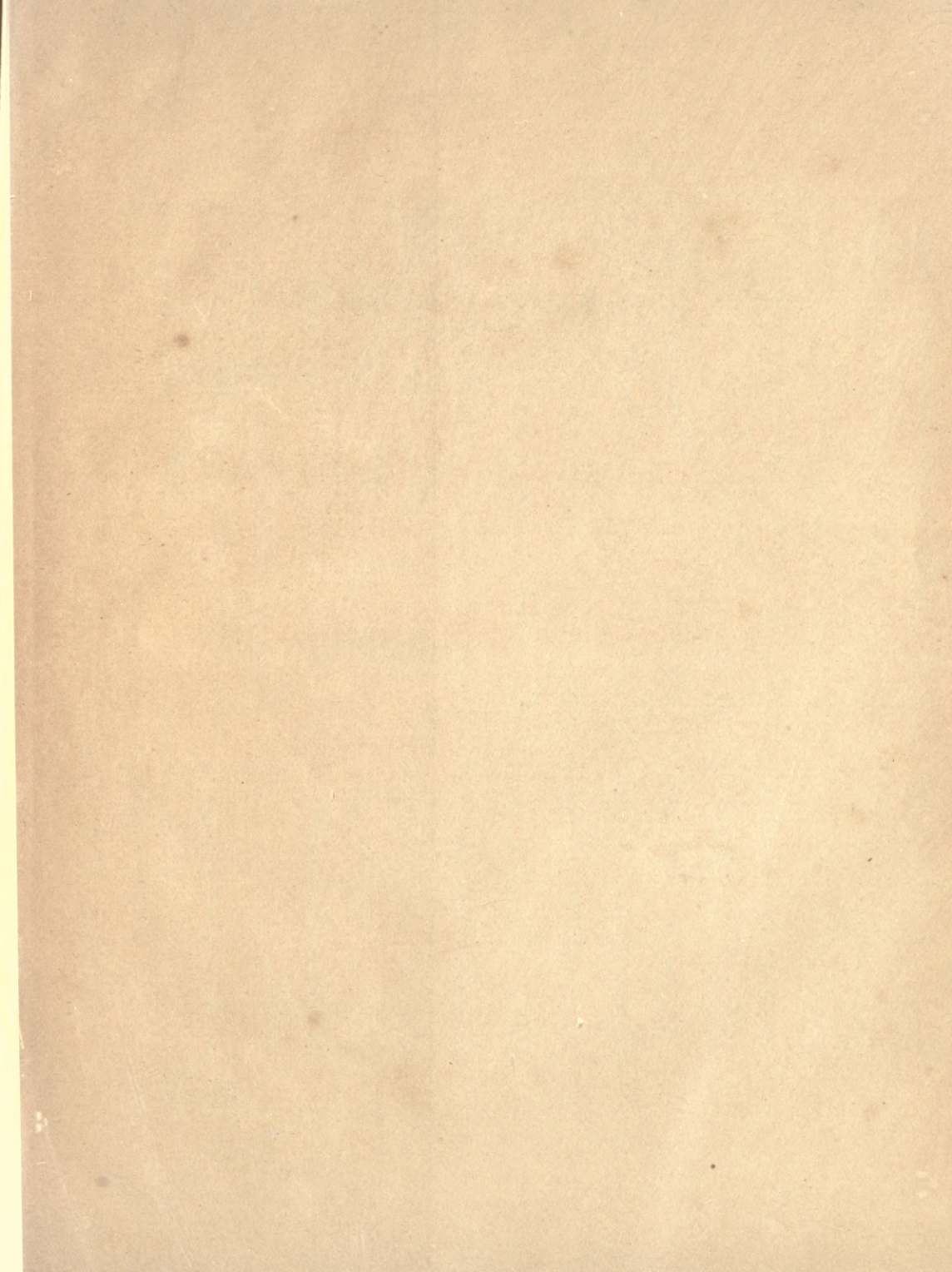
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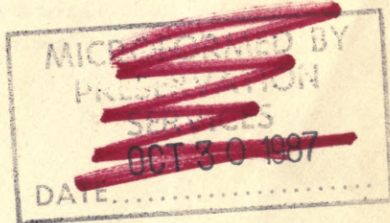
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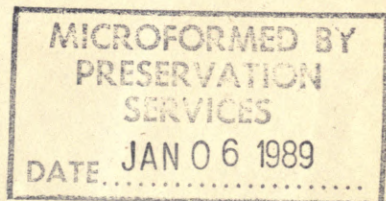
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VOL. LXXII.



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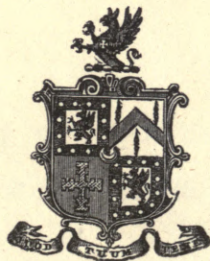
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COLLECTANEA

RELATING TO

MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD,

AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

COMPILED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED,

BY JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

VOL. II.

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M.DCCC.LXVII.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE statement made in the Introduction to Vol. I. of "COLLECTANEA RELATING TO MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD," applies equally to the present volume, that it consists chiefly, indeed almost wholly, of articles which were written by the present editor, and by him first published in the *Manchester Guardian*, during his long connexion with that journal.

In the first volume an attempt was made to preserve, in some degree at least, due chronological order in its miscellaneous contents. Beginning with notices of Roman Manchester, and the relics of its occupation; the Saxon Runic Cross of Lancaster, and Ancoats in the olden time — that is from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century inclusive — various plans or maps of Manchester and Salford were next described, from that bearing the apocryphal date of "B.C. 50," to Mr. Adshead's large maps of the township of Manchester, published in 1851. The oldest Manchester Directories were next noticed, from the three first (all by Mrs. Raffald), of 1772, 1773, and 1781, down to Pigot and Deans' of 1815. The articles under the general head of "Local Events," included a record of the visits of remarkable per-

sons to Manchester, from A.D. 79 to the year 1787. Various other local events were chronicled, including the election of parliamentary members for Manchester during the Commonwealth, and episodes of the two rebellions of 1715 and 1745. The volume concluded with some "Notices of Notables" — Podmore the learned peruke maker, and Thomas Barritt the antiquarian saddler.

The present volume is chiefly devoted to subjects connected with Manchester during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its "Places and Institutions" include notices of some of its social clubs; its theatres and drama; its music and concerts; the volunteers of the last and the early part of the present century; and notes and notices of various old Manchester newspapers and broadsides. In the division of "Genealogy and Biography," are notices of three of the older Manchester families — the Radcliffes of the Pool, and those of Ordsall Hall, and the Strangeways family of Strangeways Hall. A brief biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Raffald follows, with an account of her celebrated work on cookery. Last, but it is hoped by no means least in interest, as the subjects in approaching our own times and early associations "come home to men's business and bosoms," will be found "Recollections of Persons and Places," beginning with those of a nonagenarian, followed by others which extend from 1772 to 1830.

Should this local gathering of hitherto unrecorded things be acceptable to the CHETHAM SOCIETY, it may probably be supplemented at a future time by a third volume of *Collectanea*, relating chiefly to the earlier periods of trade and

manufactures of Manchester, with notices of some of its traders, manufacturers, and inventors.

It would be a culpable act of ingratitude not to mention here a liberal contribution to the cost of the present volume, made by a venerable member of our own community, long known amongst us for his honourable and eminently successful career, his kindly and genial disposition, and especially for the life and spirit which he has infused into the social clubs of Manchester, since his residence here from the commencement of the century to the present time. The members of the CHETHAM SOCIETY will, I feel certain, have great gratification in learning that to Edmund Buckley, Esq. president of the time-honoured club of John Shaw, they are indebted for a handsome donation, which has been sufficient to defray the expense of printing all that portion of it which relates to the clubs of Manchester.*

It only remains to offer my cordial acknowledgments — most editors for the CHETHAM SOCIETY have gratefully to tender such — to JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq., F.S.A., the president of the society, not only for judicious advice in the selection of the subjects for the present volume, but for the general supervision and revision of the whole, and for numerous contributions which have greatly enriched its pages. When it is stated that besides additions and corrections of considerable interest, in the text, the whole of the foot notes within brackets, terminating with the year-date

* While this Introduction was passing through the press the death of this lamented gentleman took place, on the 21st January, 1867, in the 87th year of his age.

"1866," are from the pen of the president, it will be seen that he has really been the joint editor of the volume; and it is only one of many proofs of the earnest care and zealous interest which he takes in all that concerns the society over which he has so long presided with high credit and honour to himself and large benefit to the society and to literature.

J. H.

*Cheetham Hill,
January, 1867.*

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COLLECTANEA

RELATING TO MANCHESTER AND ITS
NEIGHBOURHOOD.

VOL. II.

PLACES AND INSTITUTIONS.

*"John Shaw's Club." **

A HISTORY of the local clubs in Manchester for the last two centuries would be full of interest, as a portraiture of the social and convivial habits and manners of our forefathers. It would also give a lively picture of their religious bigotries, political partisanships, and local prejudices and animosities, suggestive of much curious reflection. Man has been defined by naturalists as a gregarious animal, and one proof of it is the tendency of men generally, especially in towns, to associate together in clubs. Social assemblies of this kind were common among the ancient Greeks, where every member sent his part of the expenses, or gave a pledge to pay it. Guilds in ancient times, and clubs in more recent days, show that this sort of confraternisation was a feature in the old Teutonic and in the Anglo-Saxon and English character. Who can forget the meetings of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and their friends, at the Mermaid? The clubs of London, in the days of Addison and Steele, have been immortalised in the *Spectator*. Doubtless every large town could show its club in the days of Queen Anne and the first George, had the

* This article was written in 1854.

existence of these social meetings found any permanent record.* But they were of their nature fickle and fleeting: men who met to drink and smoke, to talk over the news of the day or the gossip of the town, were scarcely likely to think of having their sayings and doings reduced to "black and white" by one of their number, for the information of posterity. Hence tradition tells of many a social gathering under some grotesque denomination, the memory of which is only preserved by its name, or by some strange prank, or odd occurrence, or singular accident, in connection with it. That Manchester had its ancient guild we have no doubt, from certain faint traces to be seen in old documents. That it had also its social clubs, its smoking clubs, its political clubs, its Pitt clubs, its clubs of "Church and King" principles, we have sufficient though scattered evidence amongst our local histories and records. A later birth was the Manchester Billiard Club, which first saw the light in December 1795, and expired in December 1850, in its fifty-sixth year. Of this club and its members an account will be found in this volume in an article on "The Manchester Assembly Rooms." It is now our purpose to put on record such particulars as we have been enabled to collect respecting a club which existed long anterior to that meeting in Mosley Street, and which still flourishes in what we may call "a green old age;" betraying no signs of decaying strength so far as we can learn. This club, which is briefly alluded to in various local publications, was, we believe, first noticed by Dr. Aikin in his *Description of the Country thirty to forty miles round Manchester*, London, 4to, 1795. We shall reprint the Doctor's statement, which occurs as a note to a notice of a still older club. He says:

About this period [the early part of the last century] there was an evening club of the most opulent manufacturers, at which the expenses of each person were fixed at 4½d. viz. 4d. for ale and a halfpenny for tobacco. At a much later period, however, a sixpennyworth of punch, and a pipe or two,

* [The late Dr. Strang has given the *History of the Clubs of Glasgow* in a very interesting volume, the second edition of which was published by Griffin and Company in 1857, 4to. 1866.]

were esteemed fully sufficient for the evening's tavern amusement of the principal inhabitants.*

It will be seen from the above that John Shaw's rule must have existed prior to 1745, and there appears reason to conclude that "John Shaw's Club" was a local institution before the visits of the young Pretender to Manchester in that year.

Brief incidental notices of the club are to be found here and there in local publications; but they appear to have been mainly if not wholly derived from the passage we have just quoted, and they throw no additional light upon the exact date of the club's formation. In all probability it grew out of a number of neighbours resorting to the same room, attracted by the excellent punch which John Shaw had the art of "brewing" in perfection.

But it is in the existing records of the club (for it has records, though not contemporaneous for its earlier years) that we must naturally expect to find the amplest and most authentic particulars respecting this oldest if not sole remaining relic of the social clubs of the last century. From these records, which have been obligingly opened to us by one of the oldest members of the club,

* As a proof that even at the present day [1795] strong features of ancient manners exist here, we shall copy the following anecdote lately communicated: There now resides in the market-place of Manchester a man of the name of John Shawe, who keeps a common public-house, in which a large company of the respectable Manchester tradesmen meet every day after dinner, and the rule is to call for sixpennyworth of punch. Here the news of the town is generally known. The high 'change at Shawe's is about six; and at eight o'clock every person must quit the house, as no liquor is ever served out after that hour; and should any one be presumptuous enough to stop, Mr. Shawe brings out a whip with a long lash, and proclaiming aloud, "Past eight o'clock, gentlemen!" soon clears his house. For this excellent regulation Mr. Shawe has frequently received the thanks of the ladies of Manchester, and is often toasted; nor is any one a greater favourite with the townsmen than this respectable old man. He is now very far advanced in life, we suppose not much short of 80, and still a strong, stout, hearty man. He has kept strictly to this rule for upwards of fifty years, accompanied by an old woman-servant for nearly the same length of time. It is not unworthy of remark, and to a stranger is very extraordinary, that merchants of the first fortunes quit the elegant drawing-room to sit in a small dark dungeon, for this house cannot with propriety be called by a better name; but such is the force of long-established custom!

we derive the following information. The meeting or assemblage of persons, formerly called "John Shaw's," is supposed to have originated at a public house in the Old Shambles, kept by an eccentric individual bearing that name; but in all probability "the oldest inhabitant" of Manchester has no remembrance of its commencement. John Shaw, it is said, was once a private soldier in a dragoon regiment, where he probably acquired that love of punctuality and discipline which distinguished his autocratic rule of his own "public" in after life. Subsequently to quitting the army, he is said to have acted for a time as a sheriff's officer. But he afterwards commenced as a licensed victualler; and having at length amassed sufficient at least to make him in some degree independent of business, he adopted the singular rule of closing his house to guests at eight o'clock in the evening. Previously, it is supposed, the house was open at all hours and to all customers, like any other house of the same kind in the town. It seems to have been managed solely by John himself, who was at this time a widower without children, having previously buried his wife and four or five sons and daughters. His prime minister and factotum in the house was a sturdy woman, known only by her Christian name of "Molly," who is said to have stoutly seconded her master in carrying into effect his "early-closing movement." As soon as the clock struck eight p.m., if the company then in the house did not at once depart, John walked into the room, calling out in a loud voice and imperative tone, "Eight o'clock, gentlemen; eight o'clock." And this significant intimation always had the desired effect; for it was soon found that John's law, like those of the Medes and Persians, was unchangeable and inviolable. No instance is on record of disobedience to his supreme authority; nay, it was never disputed; and no entreaties for more liquor, however urgent, could prevail over the inexorable landlord. His iron face remained inflexible; and all the company might be regularly seen walking out directly after eight o'clock, as punctually as a congregation quits church after the clerk has pronounced the last "Amen." If the announcement of the hour did not at once pro-

duce the desired effect, John had two modes of summary ejection. He would call to Molly to bring his horsewhip, and crack it in the ears and near the persons of his guests; and should this fail, Molly was ordered to bring her pail, with which she speedily flooded the floor, and drove the guests out wet-shod. On the occasion of a county election, when Colonel Stanley was returned, that gentleman took some friends to John Shaw's to give them a treat. At eight o'clock John came into the room, and loudly announced the hour as usual. Colonel Stanley said he hoped Mr. Shaw would not press the matter on that occasion, as it was a special one, and allow him and his friends to take another bowl of punch. John's characteristic reply was: "Colonel Stanley, you are a law-maker, and should not be a law-breaker; and if you and your friends do not leave the room in five minutes, you will find your shoes full of water." Within that time the old servant, Molly, came in with mop and bucket, and the representative of the county of Lancaster and his friends retired before this prototype of Dame Partington.

After this eight o'clock rule was established, John's house was resorted to principally by merchants and other respectable residents of Manchester and the immediate neighbourhood; for the custom of meeting friends in the evening for a social glass and pipe, at some inn or public house, was generally prevalent in this part of the kingdom, if not universal. Some of the elderly gentlemen of regular habits, and perhaps of more leisure than their juniors, used to meet at John Shaw's at four o'clock in the afternoon, which they called "watering time," to spend each his sixpence, and then go home to drink tea with their wives and families about five o'clock; for then as now, one o'clock was the universal dinner hour; late dinner parties were extremely rare, and only occurred on some extraordinary occasions. But from seven to eight o'clock in the evening was the hour of "high 'change" at John Shaw's. Then all the frequenters of the house had had their tea, had finished the labours of the day, had closed their mills, warehouses and places of business, and were free to enjoy the hour of social converse.

The usual beverage at John's at that period was punch, and all traditions agree in pronouncing it very excellent punch indeed. It was served to the company in china bowls, but of smaller dimensions than those which the name will suggest to those whose memory can travel back some distance into the last century. "A crown bowl of punch" was then a standing phrase; and we, gentle reader, are grey enough to remember some very jovial parties round bright mahogany tables (albeit in those days innocent of French polish), in the centre of which steamed a smoking hot compound, in a genuine china bowl, with a silver ladle, which said ladle very often had a silver coin inserted in the centre of its bowl, and which filled from time to time the rapidly emptied glasses, as the toast and song went briskly round; and every now and then the order was given, "Landlord! (for landlords in those days were usually their own waiters) another crown bowl." Pardon this digression, reader, into which we have been betrayed by reminiscences of a far-off past, which seem to revive in our very nostrils a delicious odour of pine-apple rum, lemons and limes, with all the *et ceteras* that go to make up that seductive compound, — punch.

At John Shaw's the punch was usually served in small bowls, of two sizes and prices; and, with that love of slang which pervades every rank and class of the community in all times, a shilling bowl was called "a P of punch," and a sixpenny bowl "a Q." The origin of these singular denominations is lost, and to some extent baffles conjecture. Can it be connected with the old saying, "Mind your Ps and Qs"? If a gentleman came alone, and found none to join him, he called for a Q. If two or more joined, they called for a P. But in the house which closed so promptly and peremptorily at eight, seldom more than sixpence per head was spent. The house bore no particular sign; but was universally known as "John Shaw's Punch House." John, though eccentric and austere, won the respect and esteem of all the frequenters of his house by his strict integrity and steadfast adherence to his rules. Notwithstanding his general gravity and saturnine disposition and temperament, he sometimes threw out a keen sarcastic joke, which

was usually so well timed, so justly aimed and so fitly applied, that no one took umbrage: indeed, such was the somewhat stern and austere authority of the man, that he must have been bold indeed who ventured to beard John in his own house.

The objects of that nightly meeting of friends and acquaintances at John Shaw's, which at length grew into an organised club, were relaxation after business hours, and conversation over the news and occurrences of the week abroad and at home. But on that prolific source of discord, politics, no disputes ever arose at John Shaw's. The reason is obvious. John and all his guests were of the same political party, and that at a time when politics ran so high in Manchester that it was scarcely safe for a man of the opposite party to enter a company to whom his opinions were obnoxious. John Shaw's roof sheltered none but stout, thorough-going Tories of the old school, genuine church-and-king-men. Nay, it is whispered that some of the earlier and elder members had formerly been suspected of favouring the pretensions of the Stuart family, or in other words, of being, in the language of the times, "rank Jacobites."* If perchance, from ignorance of the character of the house, any unhappy whig, any partisan of the house of Hanover, any known member of a dissenting conventicle, strayed into John Shaw's, he found himself in a worse position than that of a solitary wasp in a beehive. Especially if he had the temerity to utter a political opinion, did the house become, in homely phrase, greatly "too hot to hold him;" and forthwith was he ejected *vi et armis*. As the evening meeting assumed the character of a club, that love of order which distinguishes the Englishman led to the nomination and election of a president and a vice-president. Mr. James Massey and Mr. James Billinge were successively presidents. The former was also the first president of the Manchester Infirmary, and his portrait, presented to

* [We find, however, in the accounts of the constables of Manchester (December 2nd, 1745), the following item, relating no doubt to the famous John Shaw: "To John Shaw, for going to Leeds, Bradford, &c., with an express to inform General Wade of the time the rebels left this place, their numbers, &c., £1. 11s. 6d." 1866.]

the trustees by Mr. Tate in February 1794, still hangs in the board-room of that noble institution. Mr. William Clough, better known at John Shaw's as "Billy Clough," held the office of vice-president while he lived. But after his death there were two or three contested elections for the vice-presidential chair; and these were carried on with so much excitement and turbulence, and became otherwise so disagreeable and annoying to the quiet-loving John Shaw, that he did not hesitate to exercise his despotic sway by totally abolishing the office and name of vice-president. Nothing could more emphatically evince the stern autocracy which marked his rule than this fact: and at the same time it may be assumed that his despotism was counterbalanced by various good qualities, which preserved the esteem of his guests, notwithstanding his iron sway. How much might be due to the unrivalled excellence of his punch, it is impossible at this distance of time to say; for we can nowhere find among the records of the club, what would have been a treasure in these "tee-totally" degenerate days,—John Shaw's own recipe for the compounding of his inimitable punch. Like too many good things in the hands of jealous inventors, the secret of his punch lies buried with John Shaw himself. One circumstance may have contributed to the neglect of this valuable prescription during the period when it might possibly have been obtained for the benefit of posterity. War, that fell destroyer of commerce and its comforts, prevented lemons from being freely imported into this country; and we learn that a few years previous to John Shaw's death, on account of the then great scarcity of lemons, the practice of drinking punch at his house was in a great measure discontinued, and glasses of "grog," brandy-and-water, &c. were substituted. It is clear that punch without lime or lemon, must be worse than beef without mustard; and we are inclined to think that the same cause which made lemons scarce and dear, would have a similar effect upon the fine old Jamaica rum, which used to form so essential an ingredient of punch.

Even the best autocrats cannot live for ever; and John Shaw,

though he survived to a ripe old age, was at length gathered to his fathers. Having reached the age of 80 (some accounts say 83) years, John died on the 26th January 1796, and was buried in St. Ann's churchyard, near the steeple end, in the same grave where for many years had rested the remains of his wife and children.* He had occupied the punch-house which bore his name upwards of fifty-eight years, so that we are carried back, at the latest, to the year 1738 as that of his early rule in the character of "mine host." With his life closes an epoch in the history of the club.

Before referring to his successor in the hostelry, we may notice one or two additional peculiarities of John, communicated to us by a gentleman whose father was an occasional guest at John's punch-house, and who personally knew the eccentric host. As we have already stated, John Shaw had been a private in the dragoons. We learn that, doubtless owing to this circumstance, he had acquired and retained a liking for "horseflesh," which never left him. In some out-house connected with his punch-house he had a stable, and kept therein a good horse, for his own exclusive use; and he was his own groom, ostler and stable boy. Early in the morning—for John in his own person was a living exemplification of the old adage, "Early to bed, early to rise"—John would repair to his stable, groom his steed, put a horse-cloth on his back, and with only a halter he would mount and sally forth for his morning's breathing and exercise. Having in this way spent an hour he would return, put up his horse, wisp him and feed him,

* [The following inscriptions on the gravestone we owe to Mr. Owen: "Here lyeth the body of John Shaw, who died January 26, 1796, aged 80 years. Ann, his wife, buried the 27th of March, 1752, aged 34. William, son of John Shaw, buried January the 11th, 1739. Also Elizabeth, his daughter, buried November 11, and Mary, his daughter, buried December 23, 1748. Ann, his daughter, buried October 29, 1750. Sarah, his daughter, April the 15th, 1756. John, his son, buried January the 23rd, 1763. James, his son, December 14, 1771. Also Sarah, daughter of James Shaw, who died 19th September, 1773, aged 2 years."

"Here lyeth y^e body of Bernard Shaw, buried April 12, 1763, aged 76. Sarah, his wife, buried February y^e 13th, 1740. Sarah, daughter of Bernard Shaw, buried January y^e 4th, 1734. Also Mary, his daughter, buried November 6, 1738. Also Thomas Shaw, died September 2, 1805, aged 78 years." 1866.]

and having thus gone through his duties as groom, John would take his own breakfast, with an appetite in no ways diminished by his morning's exercise. The same regularity and system which regulated his early closing actuated him in smaller matters. Thus, he would never mix or stir his punch save with one particular silver spoon — an old-fashioned table spoon with a long handle or stem. In order to have this constantly at hand John hit upon a notable expedient. His tailor made a sort of long, narrow side-pocket, down the right side of his "continuations," much in the same place as a joiner carries his "two-foot" rule, and in this pocket was the punch-spoon snugly deposited. As soon as John received an order for a P or a Q of punch, out came his "bright, particular spoon," and all the compounding and blending of the steaming nectar was accomplished by its potent aid. When the smoking bowl was sent in, the spoon was carefully wiped and consigned to its snug pocket, till again called forth to mix its Ps and Qs. We now proceed with the brief and imperfect annals of the club.

After John Shaw's death Peter Fearnhead succeeded to the same public-house and carried it on much upon the same system as John had done, maintaining the eight o'clock rule in all its rigour, with the important aid of Molly Owen, a very old servant of John's, who was considered as a sort of heir-loom in the house, and was much respected by its visitors, and especially by the club, who had her portrait taken, paid for by general subscription amongst its members; and it still remains, with that of John Shaw himself, amongst the most valued relics of the early days of the club, and contributes to ornament the room in which the present members are wont to assemble. Molly continued to be in the service of Peter Fearnhead and the club till the house was sold, only a few years after John Shaw's death. Its purchaser pulled down the greater part of the house to make improvements; the members were of course expelled, and the club was to some extent disorganised. But some of its staunchest members being desirous to continue so pleasant and respectable a meeting, — one

too which had now become by habit a part of their daily routine of life, — adjourned to a public-house at the top or Market Street end of Smithy Door, then kept by a Mrs. Fisher;* and they continued to meet at the accustomed hour and in the usual way as theretofore, still calling their club by the name of “John Shaw’s.” A few years afterwards, however, Mrs. Fisher, for some reason or other, intimated to the members of the club that she wished them to discontinue the meeting at her house. They then removed to the house called the Dog and Partridge at the bottom of Market Street, then kept by Mr. Prescott and subsequently by Mr. Glover. Their next migration seems to have been in the year 1829 to the Thatched House Tavern. In 1834 there was an amicable arrangement between the John Shaw’s Club, and another similar association, called “The Social Club,” to meet at different hours in the same room — that of the latter; and both clubs appear to have met for a short time in this room at the York Hotel, King Street. In October, 1835, they made trial for one evening of the King’s Arms Hotel, at the bottom of King Street; “which house not being satisfactory to the gentlemen assembled, it was agreed to try Mr. Joseph Challender’s, the Unicorn, Smithy Door;” and on the 28th December, 1835, the pictures, club-box, &c., were removed thither from the York Hotel. In July, 1838, the club-book contains a record that “in consequence of the removal of Mr. Joseph Challender to the Blackfriars Inn, the club will in future be held in that house. This is consequent on the improvements in Smithy Door, which occasion the Unicorn to be taken down.” The next and last “fitting” of the club seems to have taken place in 1852; for the annual election of officers was held at the Blackfriars Hotel, December 31st, 1851, and the next meeting recorded in the book of the club was held at the Spread Eagle Hotel, Corporation

* [There are many now living who well remember this old hostel, with its odd irregular rooms, the floors of which, from their slopes and elevations, were so perplexing to a new comer. Nor can be forgotten the admirable beef-steaks, with oyster sauce, the beautifully browned roast barn-door fowls, for which the place was famous, and which more modern cookery may emulate but cannot surpass. 1866.]

Street and Withy Grove, May 10th, 1852. The last meeting recorded in the book is of December 31st, 1853, electing the officers for the present year (1854).

Hitherto we have confined our notices of the club to the history of its origin and its earlier years, and to its removals from time to time. But its records exhibit its general proceedings, its rules, and its members at various periods; and we now propose, as briefly as may be, to give their substance as to these material points in the history of its long existence. Unfortunately there exist no early contemporaneous records, nothing indeed prior to a long entry dated December, 1825, from which we have derived much of the preceding information. That entry concludes thus :

The meeting consists of a President, Thomas Gaskell, Esq.; a Vice-president, Mr. Robert Hindley; a Recorder, Mr. Edward Chesshyre; a Doctor, Mr. James Ainsworth; and a Poet Laureate, Mr. John Barlow : who are called the staff; and about 30 other members, who still continue to assemble about seven o'clock, subject (with some relaxation) to the same regulations as in the time of John Shaw, and with uninterrupted harmony, and still supporting our glorious constitution in Church and State. December, 1825. God save the King. [Note appended.] Previous to Mr. Gaskell's presidency the chair was held by James Bateman, Esq., banker and ironfounder. [Another note states that]: Mr. Bateman was a long time president of John Shaw's; and at his death Mr. Gaskell was elected chairman.

From these stray notices and from the records, we may put together a certainly imperfect list of the presidents of the club :

1. James Massey, Esq., Front Salford.
2. James Billinge, Esq., 2, North Parade.
3. James Bateman, Esq., South Parade.
4. Thomas Gaskell, Esq., Piccadilly, till his death, December, 8, 1833.
5. Robert Hindley, Esq., resigned June 30, 1852.
6. Edmund Buckley, Esq., the present president (1854).

We have already stated that Mr. Massey was the first president of the Manchester Infirmary. In Elizabeth Raffald's *Manchester Directory* of 1773, he appears as "James Massey, Esq., Front

Salford;" and he was we believe the head of the firm of James Massey and Co., fustian dyers, Water Street. As his portrait is preserved in the Infirmary, and as he was the first known president of John Shaw's club, which has several portraits of other presidents, we may suggest to the members the propriety of giving a commission to an artist for a copy (in oil, water-colour, or pencil drawing) of the old portrait in the Infirmary, to add to their own collection. Of No. 2 we know much less. He does not appear at all in the directory of 1773, but in that of 1797 we find "James Billinge, gentleman, 2, North Parade." In that year he was one of the auditors of the Infirmary. No. 3, Mr. James Bateman, appears in the directory of 1797 as "ironfounder, &c., house, 21, South Parade," and he was doubtless of the firm of "Bateman and Sherratt, ironfounders, 7, Hardman Street, Salford." In this directory he is not called a banker, and he probably added that to his other avocations at a later date. No. 4 appears in the directory of 1797 as "Thomas Gaskell, Esq., fustian manufacturer, 9, Pall Mall." A record of the club, by showing that he was a member of John Shaw's club so early as 1773, enables us to assign that year at least as one in which it was in existence. How much earlier there is no evidence to show, except the fact that his predecessor, Mr. Bateman, presided over it for many years, and yet was its third president at least. The following is the entry to which we have alluded:

1833, Dec. 31.—The club has this year the painful and melancholy duty to record the death of its venerable president, Thomas Gaskell, Esq., which took place in Piccadilly on the 8th December of this year. He was in the 82nd year of his age, and had been a member of this club for sixty years. He was a constant daily attendant upon its meetings; and, although he was very lame, from accident, for many years previous to his death, that circumstance did not prevent his attendance; for when no longer able to walk, he invariably came and returned in a coach. It may with truth be said of him that he was steady and sincere in his friendships, possessed of the most unflinching principles of integrity and the strictest honour, and had the esteem of all who had the pleasure to know him. He was firmly attached to his king and the constitution of his country as by law established.

Of No. 5 we will only say that so early as 1797 we find in the *Manchester Directory*, "Robert Hindley, wine merchant, Dawson's Croft, Greengate, Salford." In later years Mr. Hindley was a brewer; and in the days of the volunteers he held the rank of captain, and was familiarly known as Captain Hindley.* The following are extracted from the club minutes:

Spread Eagle Hotel, June 30, 1852.—Robert Hindley, Esq., came to the club this evening, and stated that, in consequence of his age (viz. in his 82nd year), and the state of his health, not permitting him to attend as he wished, he requested to be relieved from the presidency of John Shaw's club. Moved by James Ainsworth, Esq., seconded by William Haynes, Esq., and resolved — That the resignation of Robert Hindley, Esq., be accepted; with thanks to him for past services, and general regret for its cause, age and declining health. Moved by Edmund Buckley, Esq., seconded by William Haynes, Esq., and resolved — That the Recorder be requested to transmit the above resolution, with the good wishes of the club, and an expression of their hope that Robert Hindley, Esq., will honour them with his company as often as his health will permit him.

At the same meeting Edmund Buckley, Esq., (No. 6), was unanimously elected president in the stead of Captain Hindley, and he has at two subsequent annual meetings been re-elected president, which office he now fills. Mr. Buckley is so well known and respected among his fellow-citizens, that it would be mere impertinence here to enter into details, justifiable only in the case of the stranger or the departed. It is worth notice that Mr. Buckley is the only president of John Shaw's club who has ever held a seat in the national legislature. He was elected one of the representatives of Newcastle-under-Lyme at the general election

* [He had been boroughreeve of Salford, and was one of those men whose knowledge of the fine arts and patronage of them, and whose interest in liberal pursuits did great credit to Manchester. In his own day there was not a more intelligent, pleasant, good-humoured, or agreeable specimen of the society of his native city than Captain Hindley. He survived his resignation of the presidency but a short time, being at the time of his death in his 84th year. He was interred at St. Mary's. 1866.]

of June, 1841, being returned at the head of the poll. He sat as representative of that borough till the next general election in July and August, 1847, when he declined again coming forward as a candidate. In the *Parliamentary Companion* he is described as the son of John Buckley, Esq., of Stalybridge, and as in business as an iron master and proprietor of coal works at Manchester, and a director of several canal and railway companies connected with Manchester. We may add, that as a coal and iron merchant, Mr. Buckley's place of business is in Ducie Street, Piccadilly; his residence in Higher Ardwick. He forms no exception to the remarkable instances of longevity exhibited in several of the presidents of the John Shaw's club. Mr. Gaskell died in his 82nd year; Mr. Hindley resigned at the same age. Mr. Buckley has been a member of John Shaw's club for the last thirty years (1854). [Mr. Buckley is still the president in 1866.]

We pass now to the laws or rules of the club, as agreed to in December, 1835:

1. That the following gentlemen be considered members of the club.
[Those names to which a * is prefixed have been erased at a later period.]

Ainsworth James, *Doctor*, King Street.

Armstrong, Joseph, Water Street.

*Andrew Thomas, Harpurhey.

*Andrew Robert, Harpurhey.

Barlow John, *Poet Laureate*, Bank Street.

*Burgess Henry.

Brown John.

*Bindloss J. B.

*Braddock James, St. James's Square.

Buckley Edmund, 19, Piccadilly.

Barge Thomas, Peel Street.

*Chesshyre Edward, *Recorder*.

*Chesshyre Thomas.

Chorley Joshua, Pendleton.

Dawson Jonathan, Ardwick.

Dugdale, John, 18, Cannon Street.

Dunnington Thomas, Ardwick.

- *Ferguson, 20, Cooper Street.
- Fleming Thomas, Water Street.
- Frost.
- *Grimshaw John (Capt.), Bale Street.
- *Gaskell Thomas, *President*.
Grimshaw Samuel, Millbank, at T. Heywood's, Old Quay.
- Green Samuel, Garratt.
- Hindley Robert, *Vice-President*.
- Harding John.
- Hilton Christopher, Darwen Lodge, near Blackburn.
- *Heywood Thomas.
Hibbetson John P. . . . , near Whaley.
- Haynes William, Cooper Street.
- *Higson John, attorney, 18, King Street.
- Kenworthy John, 1, Byrom Street (resigned).
- Kershaw James (resigned).
- Kershaw Robert, attorney, Fountain Street.
- *Lucas Robert (left Manchester).
Lonsdale Daniel, Quay Street.
- *Lonsdale William, King Street.
- *Leech James.
Lees George, Adelphi, Salford.
- Loyd Thomas, at Price and Loyd's, High Street.
- Moore John, Esq., Old Sale Hall.
- *Mercer Samuel, cotton merchant.
- *Matthews Samuel, Mosley Street (left Manchester).
Moult Henry, Pendleton.
- *Mc.Clure John, Port Street.
Prest Richard (resigned).
- Ridgway Thomas.
- *Runcorn John, Salford.
- *Runcorn Richard.
- *Ratcliffe John (left Manchester).
Ramsden William, Liverpool.
- Taylor John, attorney, King Street.
- *Tate William.
Thorpe Robert, surgeon, Oldham Street.
- *Todd Christopher, Higher Ardwick.

*Whitehead James.

*Williams William Ward, Broughton Priory.†

2. That the members are expected to meet every evening, or as often as convenient, and to stay not exceeding half past eight o'clock.

3. That any member calling for liquor after half-past eight o'clock shall forfeit and pay 2s. 6d to the fund of the club. [Afterwards rescinded.]

4. That each member shall sign his name at the foot of these rules.

5. That each member shall pay into the hands of the treasurer 2s. 6d. at Christmas, to be given to the servants as a new-year's gift.

6. That no person be admitted as a new member unless introduced by a member of the club, nor until he shall have visited the club at least five times; and a new member shall upon his election pay 10s. 6d. to the fund of the club.

7. That all wagers lost at the club shall be paid and applied to the funds of the club.

8. That the president and the other officers of the club shall be elected annually on the evening of the 31st December, being new-year's eve.

9. That all moneys paid into the fund shall be spent in punch, at such times as the company present from time to time shall mutually agree upon; but that no more than one guinea shall be spent any one evening. [Rescinded, 1828.]

10. That the vice-president be the treasurer for the time being.

[These rules are signed by Thomas Gaskell, Robert Hindley, Edward Chesshyre, as officers, and by a considerable number of the members, amongst whose signatures we find the following not already given in the alphabetical list]: John Sudlow, Edw. Armstrong (resigned), Wm. Seddon (resigned), Barton Wood, Horatio Miller, Jno. Bennett, John Owen, John Taylor, London, Thomas Evans, Edward Jones (resigned), George Hall, Thos. Sowler, Chas. H. Wood, Fras. C. Norton, Samuel Nicholls, Charles Wood, Wm. Gibson, and James Consterdine.]

The proceedings at the meetings of the club resolve themselves mainly into the annual election of officers on the 31st December, for the year ensuing; and into preparations for the annual dinner on some day in January, fixing the prices of tickets for those present,

† [Of this list of members in 1835, fifty-seven in number, it is believed that only two, namely, Mr. Edmund Buckley and Mr. John Harding, are now living. 1866.]

and the fines for those absent after signing their names to attend (7s. 6d.), and appointing the chairman and vice-chairman of the dinner. In later periods a tasting committee of two or three members was appointed, who dined at the house of the club a few days before the dinner, at their own cost, and tasted and selected the wines for the dinner. There is in the book no record of toasts and sentiments; but these were regularly prepared by the poet laureate and other officers, and some of these are preserved on separate sheets of paper in the club box. The usual toasts were, first, the reigning monarch, king or queen, as the case may be; and the second (which was always given at seven o'clock) was, "Church and King," or as now, "Church and Queen." The subscribers pay each 2s. 6d. a year, which is given to the waiters. Two other classes of entries in the book are of members dying during the year and of new members elected during the same period. We shall preserve a few of the more interesting of these entries under the date of each year.

1828, Dec. 31. That the ninth rule be rescinded, and that all moneys paid into the fund be applied towards the expenses of the annual dinner. That in future the party proposing a wager which is accepted shall be considered as liable for the amount of such wager, in all cases where such shall not be decided before the next annual meeting for the election of officers.

1829, Dec. 31. Thomas Gaskell, president; Robert Hindley, vice-president and treasurer; Edward Chesshyre, recorder; James Ainsworth, doctor; and John Barlow, poet laureate. Any member may introduce a friend at the annual dinner, such friend not residing within six miles of Manchester; the subscriber to pay for him 10s. 6d.

1830, Dec. 31. All the staff re-elected. John Barlow, chairman, and James Ainsworth, vice-chairman, at the dinner, 14th January, 1831.

1831, Dec. 31. The only change in the staff is the election of William Hilton Lonsdale, poet laureate, *vice* Edward Chesshyre, deceased. As to the latter there is the following record:

The club has this year the melancholy duty to record the death of one of its most valuable and respected members in the person of Edward Chesshyre, Esq., on the 30th day of November. He had filled the office of recorder for forty years. He was a gentleman whose urbanity of manners, sociability of disposition, attachment to his king, his church and his country, was equalled by few, exceeded by none. Requiescat in pace.

1832, Dec. 31. Same staff as last year.

1833, Dec. 31. The record of the decease of Thomas Gaskell, Esq., already given. This occasioned several changes on the staff, viz.: Robert Hindley, president; John Barlow, vice-president and treasurer; W. H. Lonsdale, recorder; James Ainsworth, surgeon; and John Kenworthy, poet laureate. The following alterations in the rules were proposed, pursuant to notice, and unanimously adopted:

That the hour of meeting for the club in future be five o'clock. That the annual donation of 2s. 6d. to servants be paid by each member to the treasurer before the end of June, or the party neglecting to do so will no longer be considered a member.

1834, Jan. 11. Members elected: William Broome, accountant; William Seddon, attorney; Edward Armstrong, wine merchant.

August 9. Resolved: That it is expedient to remove John Shaw's Club from the Thatched House Tavern to the York Hotel. That the hour of commencing in the future be seven o'clock in the evening. That the gentleman presiding at the Social Club (in whose room at the York Hotel it is proposed John Shaw's Club should in future meet) should continue president of the party, so long as he may choose to remain. That on the president of the Social Club vacating the chair, it shall at the proper hour be taken by the president, senior officer, or member (should no officer be present) of John Shaw's Club. That Mr. Fleming be respectfully requested to communicate these resolutions to the president and members of the Social Club, for their approval, at as early an opportunity as convenient.

August 16. The following communication was read and ordered to be entered on the minutes:

Social Club, Aug. 14, 1834.—In consequence of a communication made from the president and members of John Shaw's Club to the president and members of the Social Club, for the purpose of uniting these institutions, on the conditions therein proposed, the same has this day been taken into consideration, and it is unanimously resolved: That the proposal alluded to be accepted, in the hope that it may be productive of mutual pleasure to both. That Mr. Fleming, the vice-president of this club, be requested to communicate to the president of John Shaw's Club the above resolution.

(Signed)

WM. TATE, President.

December 31. The same staff was re-elected; and it would seem that the union with the Social Club was little more than an amicable arrangement to use the same room at a later period in the evening.

1835, September. New members elected: Messrs. Joseph Peel, James Consterdine, and Barton Wood. In consequence of the death of Mr. W. H. Lonsdale, the recorder, Mr. William Haynes was requested to act in that capacity till the annual election.—October 3. That the presidents and vice-presidents of the Social Club and of John Shaw's Club, and the recorder of the latter, be a sub-committee to inquire as to the most suitable house for these clubs to assemble at in future. [The result we have already noticed.]—December 31. The staff re-elected, and Mr. Haynes as recorder. At this meeting (at the Unicorn), being numerously attended, the club partook of punch and a cold collation, paid for out of the general fund of the club. The vice-president was requested to take charge of the box containing the book of proceedings and other papers, and place them in the hands of Mr. Haynes, the newly appointed recorder.

1836. Jan. 9. Mr. George Hall elected a member. Jan. 29. Anniversary dinner: Mr. Recorder Haynes in the chair; vice, Mr. Kenworthy, poet laureate; eighteen members and eight guests were present. Dinner, exclusive of wines, 7s. 6d. per head. Madeira, 7s.; port, 5s.; Bucellas, 6s.—March 19. Mr. Samuel Nicholls elected; and April 16, Mr. Jerry Royle elected a member.—June 9, Mr. Horatio Millar.—June 25. The treasurer to

pay the waiter 5s. monthly, instead of at the end of the year. — July 23. Mr. Clay elected. — September 3. Mr. Varey elected. — October 22. Mr. Thomas Worthington and Mr. John Wallis elected. — December 3. Mr. John Bennett elected. — December 31. A full attendance of members being present, and the punch being prepared by the president and vice-president, the treasurer's accounts were produced, and Mr. Kenworthy and Mr. Gibb requested to audit them. The staff re-elected.

1837, January 7. Mr. J. M. Lees (one of the constables of Manchester for that year) was elected. — January 14. Mr. John Owen was elected. — August 12. Mr. James Lees and Captain Jones elected. — September 9. Mr. Hurd Wood elected. — September 16. Mr. Thomas Sowler elected. — November 11. Mr. Thomas Evans elected. — December 30. The staff re-elected.

1838, January 12. The anniversary dinner "of this ancient, loyal, and patriotic club:" thirty sat down, Captain Hindley in the chair; Mr. J. Barlow vice. Messrs. T. Sowler, John Hunt (friend), T. Worthington, J. Barge, R. Thorpe, Woodthorp (friend), J. R. Wilson, H. Millar, H. Wood, Captain Brown, C. Wood (friend), J. Wallis, C. Gibson, J. Bennett, Thomas Fleming, Thomas Evans, J. Armstrong, J. Royle, S. Nicholls, James Ainsworth, Mr. Barge (friend), George Hall, William Haynes, James Consterdine, William Gibb, James Crossley, C. Jones, and John Isherwood (friend).

1838, January 20. Mr. Charles Wood elected. — July 7. Mr. Samuel Lees elected. — December 31. The staff re-elected, with the exception of Mr. Edmund Buckley, elected poet laureate *vice* Mr. John Kenworthy. At this time the club's picture gallery consisted of a portrait in oil of "John Shaw," another of "Molly Owen;" a third of Mr. Thomas Gaskell; a pencil drawing of John Shaw, and an engraving of King George IV.

1839, February 2. Mr. Norton elected. — February 16. "That the present constables of Manchester be invited to visit the club during their official year." — June 15. Mr. John Burgess was elected. — November 9. Mr. Charles Cartwright was elected. —

December 31. Staff re-elected, except Mr. C. H. Wood, recorder, *vice* William Haynes (who tendered his resignation), and Mr. Kenworthy returned to his old post of poet laureate. The best thanks of the club were presented to Mr. Haynes for the very satisfactory manner in which he has performed the duties of recorder, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to him.

1840. Annual dinner, January 24; Mr. Ainsworth, doctor, presided; Mr. C. H. Wood, recorder, in the vice-chair. — December 31. Staff re-elected.

1841. Annual dinner, January 20; the Recorder in the chair; Captain Hindley vice. At this dinner Sir Charles Shaw was a guest, as a friend of Captain Gibson. A letter was received from Mr. Joseph Peel, containing his resignation as a member of the club. — December 31. Staff re-elected.

1842, January 15. Mr. Thomas Dean elected. — February 19. Mr. Wilkin of London [? Sergeant Wilkins] was elected. — December 31. Staff re-elected; Mr. James Meadows and Mr. James Lillie elected members.

[Here there occurs a considerable hiatus in the entries. The next are of]

1847, December 31. Mr. George Holt elected a member.

1848. Mr. Samuel Ellis elected a member. — August. Mr. Malcolm N. Ross, Mr. Josiah Dearden, and Mr. John Harding elected. — Dec. 30. The staff elected, viz.: Captain Hindley, president; Mr. James Consterdine, vice-president; Daniel Lonsdale, recorder; James Ainsworth, doctor. No poet laureate is named. Perhaps the office itself was abolished.

1849, July 21. Mr. Edward Nicholson elected. — August 31. Mr. James Rogerson elected. — December 31. Staff re-elected, except that Mr. George Hall was elected treasurer, as distinct from that of the office of vice-president.

[Another blank in the proceedings.]

1851, December 31. Mr. Daniel Lonsdale having resigned the office of recorder, Mr. James Rogerson was appointed thereto. The others of the staff re-elected.

1852, May 10. Mr. George Walker elected. — June 30. On the resignation of Captain Hindley as president, Mr. Edmund Buckley was unanimously elected in his stead. Mr. Daniel Lonsdale was requested to act as vice-president during the absence of Mr. James Consterdine. Members who died in 1852: Messrs. George Hall, Samuel Ellis, Robert Thorpe and Thomas Dean. — December 31. The staff re-elected, except that Mr. William Haynes was elected vice-president.

1853, December 31. The following staff was unanimously elected for the year 1854: President, Edmund Buckley, Esq.; vice-president, William Haynes, Esq.; recorder, Mr. James Rogerson; doctor, Mr. George Walker.

This is the last entry in the Journal of Minutes, and it brings the club's existence down to the present time (1854), when the number of members we understand is twenty-five, and the meetings are held every evening in a room on the first floor of the Spread Eagle Hotel, next Corporation Street, the walls of which are decorated with the various portraits already enumerated. Let us briefly describe their general appearance. The room contains four oil paintings, one pencil drawing, and two engravings. The first in interest, as in age, is an old oil painting, a half-length portrait of John Shaw, three-quarter face, in an ancient gilded frame. He is here depicted as a hale old man, of large make, and especially large head. A bold, prominent nose, strong jaw, and compressed lips, all indicate his characteristic firmness and decision of character. He wears a dark brown wig, of the fashion then in favour, a single-breasted coat with loose sleeves, a white cravat, and in short his attire bespeaks the neat and well-to-do tradesman of half a century ago. In his right hand he bears a china punch-bowl, of which the ground is white, with blue lines and borders, and some device, apparently the royal arms, in bright red, encircled in blue lines. The bowl is empty; and that he is removing it from the club-room is obvious from the round clock-dial on the wall, its fingers pointing to eight o'clock. The portrait seems to have been taken to commemorate the worthy host in con-

nection with his rule, and we can imagine him to have just at the moment gravely and emphatically made his regular announcement — “Eight o’clock, gentlemen. Gentlemen, eight o’clock.” This painting, from its original style, being executed with deep broad shadow ; from repeated coats of varnish, which have cracked from the thickness of successive layers, which serve to veil some of the less striking parts of the picture ; and from the age of the original, has as much obscurity of shade about it as a Rembrandt, and indeed it is difficult, without a little close examination, to make out its details. Probably to this cause it is owing that a veteran member of the club, long respected by its members, made a pencil drawing from this old painting, and presented it to the club. This drawing brings into prominence the thick, dark, bushy, over-hanging eyebrows of John Shaw, and conveys a clear impression of his stern, strong will, and saturnine temperament. Beneath is written “John Shaw,” in a bold, plain hand, possibly an imitation of his autograph. In one corner the amateur artist has put his own name in ink, “E. Chesshyre del.” Mr. Chesshyre was long the recorder of the club.

Of the same size as the old portrait in oil of John Shaw, is a companion picture, representing John’s faithful servant, the ancient waitress of the club — Molly Owen. Like her master’s this is a half-length portrait, with full face ; representing a fine, hearty old woman, full of vigour, and wearing a huge mob-cap, its broad frill bordering her honest good-humoured face, and its place on her head being secured by a broad blue ribbon. Over her gown (which is open at the neck, and the sleeves of which terminate with narrow lace ruffles above the elbows) she wears a white apron ; and altogether she has a neat, cleanly appearance, like that of an old and favourite domestic in a private family. She stands near a table on which are two brimming bowls of punch of different sizes, a P and a Q bowl ; and in her left hand she holds an oval shell snuff-box, open, from which the finger and thumb of the other hand are just extracting a pinch of what looks like Scotch snuff. The bowls of punch are of similar appearance to that represented

in the portrait of John Shaw—white, with blue borderings and lines, and vermillion patterns and devices. On neither of these old paintings, which appear to have been executed within a short time of each other and partly by the same hand, could we perceive any traces of the artist's name. They are paintings of considerable merit for the time, and we should think are both characteristic likenesses.

Another oil painting possessed by the club is that of the late Thomas Gaskell, Esq., who was for many years president of the club, of which he had been a member sixty years at the period of his death, December, 1833, in the 82nd year of his age. It is executed in a very superior style of art, and is placed in a handsome modern frame. It is a half-length, full face, and represents an elderly gentleman of large frame, lymphatic temperament, and quiet, easy disposition, with a large fund of good nature and good temper, and an apparent liking for the good things of this life. His large jaw and aldermanic double chin are snugly cushioned on the large folds of a white cravat; his shirt is ruffled at the breast; his attire is dark; and he is seated in a large easy chair, probably that of the president of the club; his stout hooked stick (indicative of his lameness) rests against his knee and his left hand, whilst his right hand is carelessly thrust into his waistcoat pocket, doubtless a favourite and well-known attitude.

The only other oil painting on the walls of the club-room is a much smaller picture, of the size called "kit-cat," and represents the gentleman who was elected president of the club on the decease of Mr. Gaskell, and held that office eighteen years and a half, resigning in June, 1852, on the ground of increasing years and declining health. We mean Mr. Robert Hindley. This portrait, by Wilkins, was presented to the club in March, 1853, by Mr. C. Wood; to whom the club addressed a letter of thanks, by its recorder, Mr. J. Rogerson. It is a half-length portrait, and represents Mr. Hindley in the favourite dress of some twenty or thirty ago,—blue coat with bright metal buttons, and buff vest. Instead of the white cravat he wears a black stock. The buttons have

some device on them, probably of the volunteer corps. He is represented as of middle age, and seated in the presidential chair of the club.

The engraved portrait of George IV. is by S. W. Reynolds, then engraver to the King, from the picture by T. Phillips, R.A. It was probably a gift to the club. Another engraved portrait is that of Edmund Buckley, Esq., from the excellent portrait by George Patten, A.R.A., engraved by Henry Cousins, and published by Messrs. T. Agnew and Sons, of this city. It is a fine proof, presented by Mr. Buckley himself, for which he received the thanks of the club. It is, we need scarcely say, an excellent likeness of the present worthy president of John Shaw's Club, with the fac-simile of his signature at the foot.

The members still (1854) meet every evening, winter and summer, from five to eight o'clock. The attendance of course varies considerably with the state of the weather, the absence of members from town, and other causes; but from six or eight to ten or twelve muster, and take their glass—punch is obsolete—and talk over the news of the day, or the gossip of the past. Every Saturday, at two o'clock, a few of the members dine together, the president always making a point of being present and occupying the chair when he is in Manchester. Then they have their annual dinner, at which a considerable number of the members assemble, and old friends drink old wine and toast old toasts, and "fight their battles o'er again." Such is John Shaw's Club in the middle of the nineteenth century.*

* [Our readers will perhaps be impatient to see some specimens of the poetry which this club was the means of producing, for how could it have lasted so long unless its members had poetry in their souls? We subjoin two; the first a song in honour of the club, composed by Mr. Edward Chesshyre, the secretary of the Pitt club and a Tory of the first water, who is still well remembered; the other a metrical application for the situation of Poet Laureate, by (or more probably written for) Mr. Henry Burgess of Salford, whose jolly, good-humoured face and stalwart frame rise up before us after the lapse of years in all their full proportions, and would have done credit to any official appointment, prosaic or poetical. The verses may appear occasionally rather rough and halting to the present fastidious generation of critics; but

The foregoing article on John Shaw's Club led to the recovery and presentation of an ancient china punch-bowl, one of those in

they no doubt fully answered their purpose at the time they were produced, and occasioned many a burst of what Dr. Johnson calls "obstreperous merriment" from the members of this genial society.

Come listen awhile, you Manchester lads,
While I give you a song 'bout your uncles and dads,
Who drank punch, and observed all the rules and the laws
Which prevailed at that whimsical club of John Shaw's.

When this club first began there 's none living that knows,
And as for the dead they are mute we suppose ;
If tradition 's believed — near a hundred of years,
But if not quite so long, sirs, why nobody cares.

The Medes and the Persians ne'er framed a law
So strictly observed as that made by John Shaw ;
If past eight o'clock, no more punch would he bring,
To please even a lord, no, not for a king.

To the measures of John you were strictly confined,
If you'd drink, both your Ps and your Qs you must mind ;
The price of those letters was odd you'll agree,
It was sixpence for Q and a shilling for P.

Such a tavern as this was not in the globe round,
There was neither a bottle nor glass to be found ;
'Twas the custom, you'll hardly believe, 'twas so droll,
For twenty all drank at the very same bowl.

The fullest attendance was on the Lord's day,
In the evening, to drink, I'm afraid not to pray ;
And sure in this place, it was something bewitching,
For the gentlemen all used to sit in the kitchen.

Now John, though so stern in his features and looks,
Would often indulge in some very dry jokes ;
And though [short] he hit hard, and so pointed his wit,
Not the bravest of all to engage him thought fit.

A custom there was at the close of each year —
A contest took place for the President's chair ;
At the candidates' speeches I am sure you would laugh,
For Billinge spoke three words — Shaw two and a half.

But though John Shaw is dead, we still keep up the name,
Though our rules and our laws are not quite the same,

which John Shaw himself has brewed many a jorum of his delicious punch. This china bowl was sent to Edmund Buckley, Esq., the

For we sit and we drink now, like true loyal men,
Sometimes till near nine, and sometimes till near ten.

But you know that times change, and we change with the time,
And, as the times alter, we think it no crime;
Therefore, my good fellows, whate'er be the laws,
Here is health and success to the club at John Shaw's.

Most worthy Chairman, Vice, Recorder,
I trust I am not out of order;
My ever cheerful Doctor, too,
I hope I shall prevail on you,
With other friends whom round I see,
For what I wish, to vote for me.
'Tis New Year's Eve, and jokes go free,
Or, like a Knight of Chivalrie,
My lance within its rest I'd seat,
And run a tilt 'gainst all I meet.

If others do, I know not why
We still should pump a well that's dry.
The Poet Laureate's post of late
Has been just like an empty plate
Before a hungry fellow placed,
On which he looks but cannot taste.
But perhaps our Laureate's like a flint
Which wants the steel, that on some lint
May by collision throw a spark,
To keep us henceforth from the dark.

John Shaw's! Behold! Be pleased to say
If e'er before upon your tray
So fine an ornamented pie,
Or one so built, hath met your eye?
In Cumberland this pie was made,
And you will find therein is laid
Enough for all the club a dinner,
This I believe — or — I'm a sinner.
If chickens, moor game, goose and hare,
With rabbits, partridge, and such fare,

president of the club, accompanied by a letter, of which the following is a copy :

My dear Mr. Buckley, — I send you herewith an old china punch-bowl, which I believe is of right the property of the members of John Shaw's club. Its history is simply this : John Shaw died, leaving his brother, executor and sole legatee. This brother also died and was buried, leaving my grandfather Falkner Phillips his executor, and our Mrs. Lowe his sole legatee. Anon a dispute arose between "the club" and Grandy Mrs. Lowe, to whom did the punch-bowl belong, — the members of the club or John Shaw's legatee. Pending this question, the bone of contention was left with the executor ; and I, his representative, roused by the kindly notice of your club, in the *Manchester Guardian*, have dragged the old bowl from the dirty shelf where it has been nearly a century ! I return it to the president of the club as a

Should not suffice — why, let the man
Who findeth fault, a better plan
To please the club not only make,
But for his own self's credit sake,
Prepare and carry to effect,
What surely he will not reject :
I mean, that at his cost appear
What he considers better cheer,
With lots of punch and cheerful songs,
To moisten clay and loosen tongues.

I scorn to bribe or promise much ;
But look, my friends, and say if such
A treat from me ought to be lost.
Then place me in the Laureate's post ;
No sinecure shall it be made,
I'll draw your wits from out the shade,
Till ev'ry member finds that he
Enjoys still more good company.
Besides, I prove by breadth of back
That I can drink the butt of sack,
Collect my fees with a *good* face,
With other things to *keep my place*.

Your votes I crave and call out "largess,"
And am your servant — HENRY BURGESS.

P.S. I had forgot, but now I wish all here
A merry Christmas and a happy year. 1866.]

matter of right. It has no intrinsic value but the old association. If none remember the bowl, all remember the names of those to whom it was familiar, — Massey, Billinge, Thackray, *cum multis aliis*. Dear Mr. President, present the club with what is their own, by right long deferred. My uncle Frederick and my father were anxious it should be returned. I am proud to be the medium, and I sincerely hope that for many, many years, it will be to you and to your friends the memento of days gone by. — Yours truly,

LUSHINGTON PHILLIPS.

Manchester, January 12, 1855.

To complete the records of the club, we close these article swith a list of the present members (1855) :

Edmund Buckley, *President*.

William Haynes, *Vice-president*.

George Walker, *Doctor*.

James Rogerson, *Recorder*.

Captain Hindley,

Thomas Sowler,

James Lillie,

William Gibb,

James Bennett,

James Crossley,

Charles Wood,

William S. Rutter,

C. J. Norton,

John Owen,

Captain Thos. Worthington,

George Holt,

Samuel Lees,

Barton Wood,

J. H. Dearden,

Joseph Varey,

E. Nicholson,

James Hancock,

W. B. Stott,

John Harding.

*The Scramble Club.**

IF to dine be an act, as the poet phrases it, of "noble daring," then is this club worthy of due record and celebration, as the oldest dining club known in Manchester. Its origin we learn from its originator, and it may be briefly rehearsed. About the beginning of the present century a few gentlemen were in the habit of dining together at "Old Froggatt's," the Unicorn Inn, Church Street, chiefly consisting of young Manchester merchants and tradesmen, just commencing business, and keen in its pursuit. Amongst the most prominent of these were Mr. Edmund Buckley and the late Mr. James Kershaw, cotton merchant, who made, occasionally with one or two of their country customers, a hasty "scrambling" meal of a fourpenny pie and a glass of ale, about one o'clock, and, without loss of time, sallied forth to business again. After this apology for a meal had been swallowed for some time, it was felt that they might as well dine off a joint; and, as old Froggatt's wife had been a cook in the service of the late Mr. Gilbert Winter's father at Stocks, and as "Old Froggatt" himself was a good caterer and purveyor, it was agreed that there should be a joint cooked for them every Tuesday, the manufacturers' market day, and that each member of what now began to assume the form and dimensions of a club, should be required to contribute one penny towards the expense of cooking, and twopence towards that of catering and providing the said joint. "Old Froggatt," as soon as dinner was over, was accustomed to bring in the dinner bill in a somewhat primitive fashion. Instead of the elegant engraved form of modern times, setting forth how many ports and sherries, brandies, gins, and cigars had been swallowed and consumed, Froggatt's record was in humble chalk (and that by no means *creta levis*), marked upon the loose unhinged lid of that useful receptacle of ancient cookery, the saltbox; and since that time, it seems the first toast after every Tuesday's dinner

* This article was written in 1855.

at the Scramble Club has been, and still is, "The Saltbox-lid," — a sort of cabalistic dedication of the wine, which at times causes an infinite amount of puzzling thoughts to the uninitiated guest.

It was about Christmas, 1801, that these gentlemen agreed to form themselves into a regular club. Having to eat their dinners in a hurry, and hastily to return on 'Change and to business, the whole thing had much the character of a "scramble" for what each could get, and from this character of the eager Manchester tradesman of the commencement of the nineteenth century, one of its members, the late Jonathan Peel, a cousin of the first Sir Robert Peel,* gave it the appellation of "The Scramble Club," one which, applied in joke, was adopted in earnest, and, after a period of more than half a century, is the only name by which the club is now known.

All institutions are gradual products of time and experience. To clubs especially it is not granted to spring at once into the full proportions of perfect beauty, as the fabled Venus from the foam of the ocean. Hence the rules, like the manners, of the old original Scramble Club, were somewhat simple and primitive. The chief rule was that every member should spend the sum of sixpence in drink, this being deemed a necessary enactment for the good of the house, and especially levelled against those "sober-sides" who would otherwise have sneaked off with a good dinner, washed down with potations of no greater strength than what was supplied by the pump of the Unicorn. Such was, in brief, the early youth, the golden age, of the Scramble Club. It met a felt want of the Manchester trading community in those times, and speedily became a popular and a permanent institution of the place. But here the historian, in common with greater men, is compelled to bemoan the destruction of those invaluable records, which would have enabled him to hand down to an admiring posterity the feats

* [And uncle to the late Joseph Peel, esq., of Singleton Brook, who, amongst many public offices the duties of which he honourably and faithfully performed, was one of the auditors of the accounts of the Chetham Society, of which he had been a member from its commencement. 1866.]

of the Scramble Club in its early prime. If the Annals of Ennius, the earliest historical records of ancient Rome, are a mere shred of fragments, and the Niebuhrs and Arnolds of our time lament the wanting books of Livy, it is surely a fitting theme for us to deplore the loss of the original records of the Scramble Club, which fell a victim to envious flames, such as in a former age consumed a whole library of treasures at Alexandria. Incautiously left within the reach of servants, the first volume of the registers of the ancient and loyal Scramblers served the ignoble purpose of lighting the fires of an inn! Hence that *hiatus* in our memoir which every true historian has to weep over, somewhere in that dim region which intervenes between mythology and history. It must, therefore, suffice to say that the club waxed strong, till the Unicorn could no longer give it "space and verge enough," and then it migrated to the Garrick's Head Inn, Fountain Street, where it flourished for some years. Its next remove was to the Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch, where some of its palmiest days were spent. The old man who kept that hostelry had a special reverence for the club, and appropriated a peculiar bin of capital (port ?) wine to its use, from which no other guests could ever induce him to supply a bottle. This was usually known as the "Scramble Wine," and we believe the club did it ample justice and honour. After the old man's death the club once more "flitted" to the late Mr. Challender's, the Blackfriars Inn, where they remained till 1848, when they migrated to their present comfortable quarters, the Clarence Hotel, then kept by the Misses Laidlaw, but subsequently by Mr. N. Biney, the present host (1855).

The number of members is limited to twenty; and the hour of dinner has been gradually altered from one to a quarter past one; half past one; a quarter to two; and is now fixed at two p.m. The club-room is on the first floor of the hotel, and it is decorated with an excellent portrait in oil of its founder, Edmund Buckley, Esq., a commission by the members to [the late] George Patten, A.R.A. (and so well executed by him as to obtain for him numerous others); a portrait of David, a favourite horse of Mr.

Buckley's; a cabinet picture of horses at play, by Mr. Towne of Liverpool; and other works of art. Perhaps the finest piece of carving ever circulated on "the mahogany" as a snuff-box, appears on the table of the club, being a donation by an honorary member, Mr. Jordan of London, patentee of carving by machinery,—the machine, by the way, being the invention and construction of Mr. Joseph Whitworth, civil and mechanical engineer, of this city, another member of the club. The lid of the box has an exquisitely carved recumbent figure; and within is another, not less artistically executed.

The second volume of the club's archives is before us, and from it we select a few of the more prominent features of a club, which after an existence of half a century, still "nobly daring, dines." In January, 1820, it assembled at the Garrick's Head, at which time the members seem to have included Mr. Edmund Buckley, president; Messrs. Daniel Lonsdale, P. W. Dumville, Hounsfield, P. O. Smith, S. Gasquoine, J. Kershaw, Samuel Lees, W. Eland, R. Entwisle, Carruthers, &c. In April, 1820, Mr. Mutrie was elected a member, and Mr. John Adams resigned. In June Mr. R. Bradshaw became a member; and in the same month the club resolved to have an anniversary dinner, twenty-four gentlemen at five shillings a head, with dessert not to exceed three pounds. The Madeira of the host (Mr. Porter of the Garrick's Head) being solemnly tasted and approved, he was instructed to provide some of that quality for the dinner. In tasting the port, two bottles proved to be corked, and after much discussion they were paid for by the club. "The president, vice-president, and committee met with no sherry wine worth drinking." Twenty-five gentlemen dined together at the anniversary, paying twenty-three shillings and sixpence per head. One rule was that every member known to have been in Manchester on Tuesday, who did not attend, was fined sixpence. Mention is made of treats to the club by members on their marriage. Various members were excluded by the twelfth rule for non-attendance. In January, 1821, Messrs. Henry Livesey, Gregory, Robert Hilton, John Hollingsworth, William

Allen, and William Hatton were elected members. In February and March, Messrs. Richard Walker, Henry Heurtley, William Hartwright. Mr. R. Entwisle resigned for a time. On the 26th June, 1821, it was resolved, by twelve to one, that the Scramble Club be removed from the Garrick's Head to Mr. Norcliffe's, the Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch. Before leaving the former house, one shilling a head was paid to the "large waiter" (Mary), and sixpence a head to the little waiter, for waiting. The club first met at the Spread Eagle on the 29th June, 1821, and paid fourteen shillings and sixpence for two bottles of wine. There we leave them for the present.

After the preceding article had appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, the son of "Old Froggatt" addressed a letter to the editor, containing some corrections and supplying omissions, and various additional particulars as to the club. The following are the chief portions of his letter :

Allow me to supplement your chronicle of the Scramble Club, as, having been "raised" on the spot, I may be able to supply the *hiatus* in its history that your chronicler admits does exist; and also to correct his dates. I believe 1810 was about the period of its origin; for "Old Froggatt" did not enter upon the Unicorn till 1805. The cause of its origin is correctly stated. The following were amongst its earliest members,—laying its paternity upon Mr. Edmund Buckley. We had Mr. James Kershaw [afterwards M.P. for Stockport], cotton merchant; Mr. Kirk, cotton merchant; Mr. Kershaw, solicitor; Mr. James Buckley; Mr. John Marsden, the currier; Mr. Howitt, solicitor, Spring Gardens; Mr. Gasquoine, auctioneer, &c.; Mr. Scott, porter merchant, Spring Gardens; Mr. Robert Stuart and his brother; Mr. Green, dyer, Garratt; a Mr. Hounsfield; Mr. R. Mutrie, the chemist; Mr. Archibald Prentice [afterwards of the *Manchester Times*], and I think Mr. Edw. Baxter, then his partner; Mr. Kelsall, jun., Church Street; and Mr. Jonathan Peel, the iron founder.

The dinner at first was a plain joint. In lieu of tarts or puddings, toasted cheese was sent in, followed by bowls of spiced ale with toast in it, called "swig," handed round like "the lord mayor's loving cup," or the "wassail bowl;" the toast given being "The saltbox-lid," which usually gave rise to much merriment amongst introduced strangers. Customers were often

brought in, — sometimes the exciseman, — for in those days the presence of an exciseman was required before you could pack a case of prints to leave the country, and it was well to keep on good terms with them. Theatrical men were sometimes initiated. The late Mr. Tayleure, the actor, was a frequent guest and a great favourite. The dinner for the succeeding Tuesday was always bespoken a week before; after a while one joint would not suffice; and I recollect great praise was given to “Old Froggatt’s wife” for her skilful concoction of “hodge-podge” from the recipe of some canny Scot.

The expenses of the club at first were very moderate; including a penny for cooking and twopence for vegetables and bread, they seldom exceeded tenpence a head. The potations were equally moderate, seldom exceeding in cost sixpence each; for the members were generally persons making good their way in the world, and anxious to get back to business. The kitchen expenses were marked on the back of a small tray, which Jonathan Peel dignified with the appellation of “the saltbox-lid.” The drink score was chalked on the parlour door, in a peculiar system of notation, not to be found in Cocker, but well known to “Old Froggatt” and his friends in the tap-room, though it would have puzzled some of the wisest heads of the club; — the modern tavern bill, with its engraved heading and copious list of items not having been introduced at the Unicorn.

At length the club increased in size, the room was too small, and “Old Froggatt” was not inclined to enlarge it. Many young men had joined, who, being accustomed to the genteel accommodation of the commercial room, wanted better fare, and to introduce wine, which the host would not keep, thinking the sale to the club would not pay for the license. They began to poke fun at the waiter, for “Old Froggatt” was very stout, and quite the opposite to the dandified waiters of the present day. He would not allow his girls to wait, and he was but a clumsy servitor. One of these young blades, seeing on one occasion a large portion of a leg of mutton leaving the room, exclaimed he would bring his “dog to dine off it next Tuesday;” whereupon “Old Froggatt” tartly retorted, “Thou had better bring thy dog to cook it.” At length it was decided to have an anniversary dinner, and a very sumptuous one it was for the Unicorn, and called forth the utmost culinary skill of the hostess, who received a unanimous vote of approbation. At this dinner it was decided to remove the club, as it was evident that “Old Froggatt” was unable or unwilling to keep pace with the requirements of his dining customers. He himself removed from the house ten years afterwards. An incident occurred at this dinner which made both

"Old Froggatt" and his wife less reluctant to part with their guests, for many of whom they had great personal respect. One of the party, being unwell, retired after dinner to a bed-room. Whilst he was asleep the room was entered by Mr. Jonathan Peel, who played off a coarse practical joke upon the sleeper, which spoiled the best feather bed, and caused "Old Froggatt's wife" and her maidens many wearisome days of labour in dressing feathers. A 'cute hostess of the present day would have replaced it at the nearest upholsterer's, and sent in the bill to the joker. She knew not how to charge for her trouble and vexation, and consequently did not get paid. This anniversary would be in the Christmas of 1820 or 1821.

The after-dinner cracks of this club latterly assumed much of the form of a political debating club. Many members, who have since taken active parts in the political strifes of the intervening period of our history, made their earliest efforts at speaking in the Scramble Club; and politics of all sorts were broached, from budding radicalism to downright "Church and King" toryism. Most of the earlier members are now dead, or retired into private life. I may add that "Old Froggatt's wife" still survives her labours in a "green old age," being 86, and she retains many recollections of "Old Manchester, seventy years ago."

"OLD FROGGATT'S SON."

Shortly after the club's removal to the Spread Eagle, they decided, in solemn conclave, to pay the waiter one penny per head for dinner. The elections of members, the fines for breaches of the rules, and the exclusions under the twelfth rule, occupy the chief place in the records, but would not prove very interesting now. Among the laws, customs and practices of the club were, that any member removing to a new house, marrying, becoming a father, winning at a horse race, &c., paid for one or more bottles of wine for the club. Then amongst the fines were odd rules as to not taking the chair, or leaving it to ring a bell, or asking a stranger to ring it, or letting a stranger pay anything. These were formally brought before the club as charges, and, if proved, a fine of a bottle, or of glasses round, followed; if not proved, the member bringing the charge forfeited a bottle of wine. Then, in taking the vote upon the charge, if the chairman or vice-president voted, or any other member did not vote, fines ensued; and there

was an extraordinary degree of ingenuity manifested by fines to get the fuors fined in turn; all being a species of practical joking or trotting much in vogue twenty years ago. On one occasion it happened that only the chairman and vice-president were present. The chairman, as the club phrase went, "felt himself aggrieved" by the vice-president "poking his thumb at him;" but found himself in this dilemma, that by a rule of the club, neither chairman nor vice-president could vote on any question in dispute; so that if he brought the charge, he could only make it to himself and the delinquent; neither could vote upon it; it would fall to the ground, and he probably would incur a fine for not proving his case.

In 1823 the anniversary dinner of the club was fixed for the 26th of August. The club appointed Mr. Jonathan Andrew chairman and Mr. Edmund Buckley vice-president for the dinner. At a meeting of the committee of arrangement, Mr. Norcliffe (the landlord) was desired to provide a dinner "for 30 gents. at 5s. per skull." Thirty gentlemen dined, and the bill (including wine tasting) was £33. 4s., which reduced by forfeits and fines to £23. 19s., was assessed at sixteen shillings a head. In May 1824, Mr. James Ainsworth, who had been an ordinary member some time, being appointed surgeon to the society, was excused from acting as president or vice-president. At the anniversary dinner 16th September, 1824, James Walker, Esq., of Levenshulme, presided, and amongst those present were Messrs. John Walker, S. Gasquoine, W. Eland, G. O. Smith, Charles Horley, George Scott, W. Burgess, George Fletcher, James Kershaw, George Lloyd, R. Entwisle, James Royle, J. E. Royle, Charles Wood, Thos. Robinson, Alexander Oliver, Edmund Buckley, &c.

In July, 1829, a threefold wager is recorded between two members, as to whether the canal from Manchester to Macclesfield would be open and free for the transmission of merchandise before 21st July, 1830; before 21st July, 1831; and before 21st July, 1832. Each wager was for half a dozen of wine, which was had from time to time, both wagers paying jointly; one to be repaid his share on the decision of each wager. An anniversary dinner

bill of this period is of the Blackfriars Hotel, Joseph Challender. The dinner and dessert cost £7. 10s.; porter, 2s.; spirits, 5s.; port, £3. 15s.; sherry, £1. 4s.; Madeira, £2. 2s.; champagne, £2.; bucellas, 12s.; and broken glass, 2s.; making a total (with 8s. to the waiter) of £18. In December, 1829, the tasting committee report the Madeira fair and good, and the port capital. The dessert not to exceed £3.

27th September, 1831. The vice-president bets the president three bottles to one that the Duke does not vote for the reform bill. — October 18. Mr. Burgess bets Captain Gibson a bottle of wine that the Captain does not produce in writing the names of five hundred Tories next Tuesday. Mr. Burgess bets Captain Gibson another bottle that Mr. Burgess wins the bet. October 25. Mr. Burgess lost and paid.

In October, 1832, the following were the members of the Scramble Club:

Edmund Buckley,
James Kershaw,
G. O. Smith,
John Walker (died 1835)

W. B. Watkins,
Samuel Green,
Richard Potter,
Littlewood Andrew (died 1834),
W. Ward Williams (died 1833),
Thomas Burgess,
Captain Gibson,
William Gibb,
A. Roxburgh,

Richard Dawes,
W. G. Beaver,
Samuel Lees,
David Harrison,
Captain Grimshaw,
Robert Ashton,
Aaron Lees,
John Goldie Walker,
James Meadows,
Joseph Whitworth,
John Wallis,
George Sidebottom.

At the meeting of January 2, 1833, is the entry, "God send us a good year." In March, 1833, the thanks of the club were voted to "Samuel Green, Esq., mayor of Garratt." — July 9, 1833. This morning about nine o'clock this club was deprived of one of its members by the death of W. W. Williams, Esq. "Peace to his manes" was drunk by the members present. — September 17.

Whenever the next anniversary of the Scramble is held, Captain Grimshaw kindly volunteers a pot of turtle, which the members present accepted for themselves and the other members. The tasting, &c. committee of October 28, 1833, approved of the game, fish, meat, &c., directed bread sauce in place of onion sauce for the game, with less salt in it; unananimously approved of the Madeira No. 8, but met with no sherry they could recommend. They approved of the filberts and cigars, the bucellas and champagne, and the port No. 3; but No. 8 was nowhere. The dinner came off November 12; Mr. Samuel Green, president; Mr. W. B. Watkins, vice-president. About twenty-five gentlemen dined, and it is recorded that the dinner was excellent, the wines the same; grapes, pines, turtle, &c., walnuts (oh!), whisky, and olives were sent by individual members; &c. The secretary and Mr. Norcliffe (the landlord) closed the scene between twelve and one, with a cigar and two glasses of brandy and water, which enabled the secretary to "scrambell" to his house (two miles) by two o'clock. N.B. He saw no watchman, *nor any thing else*.

May 20, 1834. A vote of regret is recorded at Captain Grimshaw leaving Manchester; and on the 27th the club express their deep regret on the death of Mr. Littlewood Andrew, who died suddenly at Frodsham on the 23rd, and was buried at All Saints' Church on the 27th May. — At the anniversary meeting, April 24, 1840, the members presented a gold snuff-box to Mr. Edmund Buckley, as a testimonial of the high esteem in which he was held by the club. On the 5th January, 1841, it was unanimously resolved that a silver pen and pencil-case be presented to Mr. James Meadows, the secretary, for his valuable and efficient services to the club. — At the anniversary dinner of the 9th January, 1843, Mr. William Gibb presided; Mr. James Meadows vice-president; and amongst those present were Messrs. Alexander Rowley, Edmund Buckley, M.P., Thomas Taylor, Joseph Whitworth, J. Wallis, Jewsbury, &c. "An excellent dinner, good wines, and harmony prevailed throughout." — On the 11th November, 1845, W. B. Watkins, Esq., mayor of Manchester, attended the club as early as his nu-

merous engagements would allow; his health was drunk with acclamation, and he presented the club with claret. Amongst the newer members of the club are entered Messrs. Allcard, Crutten-den, Hampson, Lingard, Stubbs, and Rothwell.

The latest entry in the club-book before us is July 14, 1846; and, having shown that the club has numbered amongst its members several members of parliament (the late Richard Potter, Esq. M.P. being one) and one mayor of Manchester, we may leave it to "scramble" along, still dining; and, in the words of one of its own records, may its dinners (at the Clarence Hotel, Spring Gardens, every Tuesday at two o'clock) continue to be "excellent;" its wines "first rate;" and its "harmony undisturbed," and prolonged to the utmost longevity possible to a club, which has already been dining for nearly half a century! (1855.)

*The Manchester Assembly Rooms and
Billiard Club.**

ONE of the most striking features in our social life in this nineteenth century, is the rapid decline of all those amusements which were so much the fashion in the times of our forefathers of the one preceding. London has no longer its drums, its routs, its Ranelagh; scarcely can it be said to retain its Vauxhall. The Ring and the Mall have lost their old uses; barges are rarely seen upon the river; state-chariots have followed sedan chairs and links into oblivion; and even in the metropolis we have no longer, in the full sense of the term, a national theatre. As in the capital, so in the provinces. Fashion is a goddess as capricious and fleeting as she is despotic and tyrannical. Manchester has no longer

* This article was written in 1851.

its cock-pit (happy riddance!) and two other institutions for indulgence in the fashionable amusements of the past century have just become extinct, after several ineffectual efforts to resuscitate them, even in the last stages of mortal atrophy. We mean the Assembly Rooms and the Billiard Club, — the former for the ladies and the latter for the gentlemen of Manchester and the neighbourhood. And, taken together, these two associations long filled for this city the important functions which Almacks performed for London, or La Crème for Vienna. They distinguished — often, it must be owned, with a caprice and waywardness worthy of their tutelar deity, Fashion — between the “somebodies” and the “nobodies” of Manchester society; drew the line between what even transatlantic votaries of fashion denominate the “upper ten thousand,” and all below the favoured few; and did their utmost, in their self-assumed character as *arbitri elegantiarum*, to maintain their members in the position of the very select, the real *élite*, of the town. Having so long exercised this influence over what is called “Manchester society,” it is due to these institutions not to suffer them to pass away without some record, however feeble and imperfect, to mark their place in our local annals. And first as to

The Assembly Rooms.

We shall borrow entire a description of the building, and some of its rules and regulations, from Aston’s *Manchester Guide*, published in 1804, only twelve years after the rooms were opened, and when they may be said to have been in their most high and palmy days:

The Assembly Rooms are contained in a plain brick building in Mosley Street, built by one hundred subscribers of £50 each, with an advance since of £20 for the completion. They were opened by a most brilliant assembly, on Thursday evening, September 20th, 1792. The entrance, by a grand vestibule leading to the staircase, is very handsome. On the ground floor are proper offices, and waiting rooms for servants.

The Ball Room is eighty-seven feet long and thirty-four feet broad. It is illuminated on assembly nights by three elegant pendent and twelve mural

glass chandeliers ; one of the former is universally and deservedly admired ; and their united brilliancy has heightened effect from three very large mirrors, which reflect back the light. The walls and ceilings are painted in compartments. The seats are a kind of sofa, with orange-coloured satin cushions. The orchestra is on one side, nearly in the centre, over the principal entrance, which perhaps would have been better at the end of the room.

The Tea Room is fifty-four feet long and thirty-one feet broad, painted something similar to the Ball Room. Over the fire-place is a portrait, large as the life, of the late Lord Strange, father to the present Earl of Derby. He is dressed in his parliamentary robes, and has a scroll in his hand, which intimates that by his exertions, in the reign of his late majesty, the duty on linen yarn was repealed. The picture is enclosed in an elegant frame, on which the coronet and arms of the noble personage it represents are carved. On one corner of the picture are these words : " Edward Penny, professor of painting to the Royal Academy, 1773."

The Card Room is lined with a rich Chinese paper, on which are painted a great number and a great variety of birds ; there being no duplicate representation in the room.

The following rules for the regulation of the Assembly are printed, framed, and hung up in the Tea Room, by order of the managers :

" The tickets for dancing to be distributed a quarter before eight. The dancing to begin at eight. No ticket transferable. The ladies to take their places according to the number of their tickets, and to keep them during the evening. Gentlemen to change partners every two dances. If the managers think the set too crowded, it shall be divided ; the odd numbers to remain ; the even numbers to form another set, and each to call a dance alternately. No couple to leave the set before the dance is concluded, without an apology from the lady to the queen of the assembly, or to one of the managers for the evening. No refreshments allowed in the ball-room ; and negus, only, in the card-room. When the assembly is closed, no refreshments of any kind to be permitted. One cotillion only to be danced each assembly, with permission of the manager, and that immediately after tea. In order that proper attention may be paid to strangers, it is requested that they may be introduced to the queen of the assembly, or to one of the managers for the evening. If any disputes arise, they shall be left to the determination of the managers present. — N.B. To prevent inconvenience at the carriage door, ladies and gentlemen are desired to give positive orders to

their servants to set down with their horses' heads towards St. Peter's Church, and to take up, towards Market Street Lane. No carriage to range before the front of the Assembly Rooms; but to wait lower down in Mosley Street till called for. The chairs to set down and take up at the back door of the Assembly Rooms, where there is a convenient ante-room for the purpose. The chairs coming to take up, to remain at the outside of the door till called for."

The same writer, in his *Metrical Records of Manchester*, thus sings the event of the opening of the new Assembly Rooms in Mosley Street:

"In seventeen hundred and ninety and two,
 For this we must open a paragraph new;
 For beauty's display, to man dearer than riches —
 And who have more beauty than Lancashire Witches? —
 A grand suite of rooms were in Mosley Street raised,
 Which often for splendour and taste have been prais'd;
 Where assembled to dance — Vive la bagatelle! —
 Love has oft raised a blush on the cheeks of a belle;
 And where many a tabby, for dancing unfit,
 At a pool, or a rubber, in the card-room will sit,
 Till the loud-crowing cock shall proclaim a new day!
 Such delights are envelop'd in dancing and play."

The decline of the Assembly Rooms must be attributed to various causes, amongst the most prominent of which has been the growing preference for many years past for country residences, and the incompatibility of frequent enjoyment of public assemblies with this residence, from three or four to twelve or fourteen miles out of Manchester. In short, "Manchester has gone out of town," and urban public balls are no longer what they were when the first families resided in the same street as the Assembly Rooms, and in other central parts of the town itself. Then, again, those who are still within convenient distance have, in the progress of the refinement of the age, gradually concentrated their amusements more within the family circle, where "soirées dansantes" and "soirées musicales" have taken the place of the public assemblies and con-

certs of past days ; just as acted charades, private theatricals, and dramatic readings at home, have superseded the old Manchester mania for the drama, which is another fading feature in the social aspect of Manchester. Other reasons might be enumerated as conducive to the decline of public assemblies in Manchester. A large class of religionists discountenance them as worldly ; while the necessarily mixed character of Manchester society, especially in the earlier part of the present century, when fortunes were rapidly made, and persons finding themselves wealthy, were naturally anxious to be received into the best society, — led to partnerships in the ball-room not always deemed desirable, especially by prudent mammas. Hence, young ladies dancing with “detrimentals,” and young gentlemen finding themselves linked, for the hour, with “undesirables” for life, led to much dissatisfaction ; while it was observed that certain “sets” kept the upper part of the ball-room, and did not descend and mix with the general company. All these causes combined brought about a considerable decline, and gradually the Assembly Rooms lost much of their pristine attractions and *éclat*.

At length, pecuniary embarrassment added to their other unprosperities ; and after several meetings in the course of last year, in which it was sought, but ineffectually, to raise in shares a sum adequate to the discharge of liabilities, and to the resuscitation of the assemblies, the building itself came to the hammer, and was knocked down to Mr. Richard Marsden for £9,000. The purchaser, with great liberality, yielded to a request to allow the building to be repurchased of him, if the money could be raised by a certain day ; another meeting was convened, and a desperate effort made, but it proved as ineffectual as the former ones ; and so the glory of the Manchester Assemblies passed away. The building will be forthwith taken down, and warehouses erected on its site ; and such are the encroachments of the spirit of trade, before which fashion “gins to pale her ineffectual fire,” that we understand all the warehouses *in posse*, not a brick of which is yet laid, are already let !

The Billiard Club.

Of this club and its room, which is under the same roof as the Assembly Rooms, we take the following particulars from *Aston's Manchester Guide* :

The Billiard Room is in the same building as the Assembly Rooms, and belongs to the same proprietors, who let it to the managers of the Billiard Room for £60 a year. The entrance to it is from Back Mosley Street. It is fifty-four feet long and thirty-one feet broad ; and is a very handsome room, well adapted for the purposes in which it is employed.

It is under the direction of a treasurer and committee, chosen by the subscribers (eighty-five in number) annually in January. The subscribers are admitted by ballot, and must have a majority of four-fifths. They pay on entrance five guineas ; and annually, two guineas in advance. If not paid in the month of January they forfeit half a guinea, and if unpaid the 25th day of March the member is expelled. No inhabitant of Manchester, except a subscriber, can be admitted ; but strangers may be free for one month, if introduced by two subscribers ; or, for a single day, by one subscriber.* The room is opened in summer at eight and in the winter at nine in the morning ; it is shut at ten in the evening, except company are engaged, when it is kept open till twelve. The room is open on Sundays, to read the newspapers, &c., but no game is allowed ; and liquor is not suffered to come into the room at any time.

This club having for more than half a century exercised an extraordinary and powerful influence over the society of the town and neighbourhood, we propose to give a short account of its progress to maturity and strength, and of its decline and fall. From the records before us, the first meeting was held on the 11th of December, 1795, when the club came into existence. That meeting

* "The following are among the regulations of the room : The price of a single game of billiards is threepence by day, or sixpence by candle light. Double games fourpence and eightpence. The billiard table not to be engaged for more than three games. No person to bet at billiards, backgammon, or chess, more than half-a-crown. No person to play at whist for more than one shilling the point, or bet more than half-a-guinea upon the rubber. No newspaper or pamphlet to be taken out of the room. The markers are not allowed to take any perquisites."

consisted of only the seven following gentlemen: Messrs. John Parke, William Hibbert, Francis Philips, John Entwisle, jun., Samuel Salisbury, James, and Richard Wilson. Mr. Parke was the eldest brother of Mr. Baron Parke, who still adorns the English bench of judges. Mr. William Hibbert was an ancestor of the late Dr. Hibbert-Ware. Mr. Entwisle, we believe, was great-uncle to the gentleman of that name who represented South Lancashire, and who is now a partner in the banking firm of Loyd, Entwisle and Co. Mr. Richard Wilson, the first treasurer of the club, from his stature was familiarly called "Long Dick," amongst his friends. The words of the first resolution are:

That a room be opened by subscription for the purpose of a newsroom, with a billiard table, and that Mr. Wilson be authorised, as treasurer, to take the upper room belonging to the Assembly Room, at £30 per annum.

The room was so taken, and then follow the usual rules. The following gentlemen, with the seven already named, constituted the first twenty "original subscribers:" Shakespear Philips, John Philips, Barker, Thomas Tipping, jun., Samuel Clowes, C. Marriott, William Rigby, Benjamin Potter, John Douglass, John Blackburne, John Close, Henry Salisbury, and William Starkie.

The subscribers were at first limited to forty, and the first subscribers admitted after the score named, were Messrs. Samuel Greg, Thomas Boardman, and T. Satterthwaite. To these succeeded, in a batch, Messrs. Samuel Philips, Thomas Fosbrooke, Langston, Houghton, jun., and James Potter. Next came Messrs. James Bayley, Bradshaw White, Thomas Marriott, William Myers, and William Thackeray. The next admitted were Messrs. John Kearsley, John Sedgwick, Dawson, and Thomas Langston. Then Rev. Mr. Rasbotham, Messrs. Thackeray, and Thomas Johnson. Next in order, Messrs. John Mather, Rev. J. Gatcliffe, John Hardman (Grauby Row), Thomas Potter, Atkinson, and Thomas Ollier. To these followed Messrs. Joseph Kershaw, William Leaf, Gorman, Samuel Mather, and William Mitchell. These were all the members at the close of 1796. Mr. Wilson, the treasurer,

having gone abroad, Mr. Thomas Mort was elected to that office in February, 1797.

Amongst the items of expenditure in its first year, the club paid Gillow, of Lancaster, £44 for one billiard table, and £42. 8s. 2d. for another. Mr. Thomas Mort was elected a member, in the room of Mr. Myers, resigned. In January, 1797, Mr. Francis Philips was elected treasurer. In June, 1799, the number of members remaining limited to sixty, Dr. Ferriar was unanimously elected in the room of Mr. Bradshaw White, deceased. In September, 1800, Mr. Scholes Birch was elected, *vice* Mr. Joseph Kershaw, resigned.

In December, 1800, the members subscribed £100 to the fund for the general relief of the poor.

In January, 1801, the number of subscribers was extended to seventy, the new members paying five guineas entrance, and the annual subscription of two guineas. Amongst the new members of January, 1801, were Messrs. Preston Parke, John Atkinson, John Hardman, Richard Entwisle, F. Hardwick, John Marriott, Dr. Bardsley, Nathaniel Heywood, and John Touchet.

In January, 1802, the number of subscribers was increased to eighty-five; and fourteen gentlemen were admitted members in March, viz.: Messrs. John Railton, Baldwin, Gibson, Hamilton, James Touchet, Samuel Wood, Henry Barton, jun., Pryce, John Jackson, Rushforth, J. Leigh Philips, Richard Jackson, William Henry, and Peter Ewart. In April, 1802, were admitted Messrs. Thomas Hardman, Robinson Foxley, Charles Wood, John Entwisle Scholes, and William Jones.

In January, 1803, the rent of the Billiard Room was advanced from £30 to £60. In February, 1803, Mr. Thomas Entwisle, and August, 1803, H. H. Birley, were elected members. In August, 1804, Mr. Gilbert Winter and Jeremiah Fielding. In January, 1806, Mr. Charles Brandt. The entrance fee was raised from five to eight guineas. Amongst the members not before mentioned were Messrs. Frederick Bernhard, John and Thomas Drinkwater. On the 28th April, 1806, "Mr. Robert Peel, of Mosley Street, was elected a member." The blackballing seems to have been in full

play in 1807, when fifty-four subscribers being present, on a ballot for the election of three members, "none were admitted."

In January, 1808, the subscription was raised to three guineas, the admission being ten guineas. In February, the Rev. Thomas Clowes, Mr. Thomas Markland, and Mr. James Kearsley were elected. In April, 1808, Mr. Edward Loyd; in October, Mr. John Birley. In February, 1809, the club bespoke, for Thursday, March 2nd, the play of *The Jealous Wife*, and the farce of *The Padlock*; Mr. Macready, sen., being the manager. In March, 1809, the Rev. John Clowes was elected; in March, 1810, Revs. C. W. Ethelston and J. Smith, and Mr. Jeremiah Whittenbury; in February, 1811, the Rev. Croxton Johnson; in January, 1812, Mr. Thomas Houldsworth; in October, 1812, Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. R. Philips; in March, 1813, Mr. Lawrence Peel; in March, 1814, Dr. Edward Holme; then succeeded three meetings and ballots, but "no election." We need not pursue the records further. Indeed, to give the names of members, we have somewhat anticipated events, and we must now return to the early days of the club.*

After the first forty members were admitted, then began the ballot, and four white balls in five were required for an admission. The number of members was long limited to eighty-five. The club was soon full. Now this was not a Church and King club; although some idea of the state of political feeling then dominant in the town may be formed from the fact that the carved figures of angels, &c., forming the corbels of the arches of the cathedral, were then attired (by the zeal of ultra-loyalists) in the Windsor uniform! Angels in blue coats and red facings! Could anti-Jacobins go further? Our own recollections extend over a period of nearly fifty years, and we recognise amongst the members the names of men who would swear "by the right divine of kings," as well as of those who would do no such thing. However, the members were all "the best men"—we mean as to education and

* From this point to the end of the article the editor acknowledges himself indebted to the pen of the late Mr. Vernon Royle.

standing in society — of that day; and so this club began and went on, increasing in strength and influence year by year; and we may say that by it was promoted and upheld every thing which tended to civilize, to enlighten, to soften, to improve the manners, and, as Junius said, “to make men wiser and better.” *

When vacancies occurred, by death or otherwise, contests for admission were of the severest character. To be a member of this club was, it would seem, the only way to rank and station; and to such a length had this notion been carried, that we well remember it being understood that if a man was not a member of the Billiard Room he was not only not in society, but unfit for society. How that was we shall not now inquire; the club did count, however, amongst its members, the nobility of the neighbourhood, the highest of the clergy, of professional men generally, and such merchants only as were merchants and considerably more as to education and station in society. And we may add that this was, for the most part, the character of its members to the last hour of its existence. Up to the year 1836, or at the latest 1840, were the palmy days of this club; to be a member of the Billiard Room was, above all things, desirable to the rising man; contests for admission were, as we have already said, extremely severe; black-ballings were frequent, very frequent, and they were said to be unfair, capricious, unjust, wrong, and all that; but to us, looking over the records, there seems to be little cause for such complaint, with only one exception, which we shall notice as it deserves presently. Men of fortune and education, and professional men of any pretensions; had never any difficulty in becoming members; nor had the Heywoods, the Bartons, the Birleys, the Philipses, the Entwistles; these, and such men as these, were always admitted at

* [An old member, J. B. W., writes thus to us: “In the article on the Billiard Room it was not mentioned that the colonels of each regiment, on their arrival in Manchester, were apprized by the committee of the club that free admission was given to the officers. I well remember that several of them personally assured me how much they appreciated this boon, giving their young men a safe, gentlemanly resort. Now you have more turtle and venison feasts, but nothing to compensate for the void caused by the extinction of the club.” 1866.]

once. But with illiterate men, and men of a lower order, it was another affair. They were blackballed, and they complained bitterly; but, to our utter amazement and dismay, we see that the same men were blackballed over and over again, once, twice, and thrice; we look no further. How a man challenging or staking his fitness to be a member of the Billiard Room, could come up to the scratch again and again, to be figuratively thumped, and pummelled, and whacked, and floored, and blackballed, we cannot say; our duty is to record the fact, and we do it with considerable reluctance. Surely the breed is now extinct; and “*de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*”

Among other curious incidents of the Billiard Room, we may mention that more than twenty years ago, one member struck a stranger, a military officer, over play; but as the aggressor (it is said) would neither fight nor apologise, the club took it up, and he was obliged to leave the neighbourhood. Then it was said that gambling was done by this club; this, too, has little of truth in it. The sums to be played for, and the bets to be made, are before us, and they are very low in comparison with the sums played for now-a-days; and we see that several men have been fined for playing or betting even a sixpence or a shilling more than the rules allowed. It is true that late hours were occasionally indulged in; but no man that we ever heard of was what is called “cleaned out” in the club-room.

As to late hours, we cannot deny that a great preacher of those days, with his spectacles of gold, was sometimes seen groping his way from the club-room down to his lodgings at clerk Rowbottom’s, in the old church-yard, in the dark of the morning; but he is dead, and perhaps we should not have said this much. And it is also true that famishing and shivering grooms did tie up their masters’ horses in the *kitchen*, when they were tired to death of walking them about the street, also in the dark of the morning. In justice we ought to say that this happened but very seldom. But that good old kitchen was the scene of many a joyous evening; many a glorious oyster feast was held there; and joke and wit, and good

fellowship, with "diamond cut diamond," were the order, by the choicest spirits of those days. We will name a few, all long since gone to their rest: Drs. Ferriar, Foxley, and Bardsley; Messrs. Ollier, Ford, Myers, Mitchell, Sam Mather, Tom Marriott, J. L. Philips, J. Thackeray, and John and Tom Hardman. And so the happy years of this club rolled on; able men were found to fill the vacancies which death or other circumstances had made, and until about the year 1840 the number was kept up to eighty-five.

But before this time a blackballing had been done upon an applicant, which was the beginning of the end; the club staggered and reeled under the self-inflicted blow, and, we say, never recovered itself. The character of the members was changed; the standard was lowered. Fond fathers had brought in their foolish sons, with purse pride, in all its forms; and, as it might be expected, things were done which ought to have been left undone, as was the case with the gentleman just alluded to. He was a member of an old and most worthy family; his father was an early member of the club, if not one of the founders; his brother was a member, and had been member for the county. The applicant was a Trinity man, and had taken honours; had been called to the bar, and was a Fellow of the Royal Society; he had no sharp tongue, never held up the mirror to the prating blockhead, but was amiable and excellent in every way. All these qualifications would not avail. He offered himself to the Mosley Street club, and was blackballed. He did afterwards allow the club to elect him; but the blow was struck. The oldest and most influential members forsook the room; they were offended. Vacancies occurred; but the best men did not offer themselves; they would not suffer their feelings to be hurt, their pride to be wounded, their reputation to be touched, nor to be insulted, by the possibility of a blackballing by the Mosley Street club, no matter who were its members. But other causes were contributing considerably to the decline and fall of this club. The Union Club,* with its spacious and commodious apartments, was a formidable rival. The talent now em-

* Established in April, 1825.

ployed upon the daily press, and the extremely reasonable terms upon which the daily papers are supplied, induced many to receive them at their own homes. The owner of a chariot and pair, with his one footman in plush and hair powder, as a matter of course, "took in" (as the term is) *The Times*, *The Railway Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Edinburgh*, and *The Quarterly*; he had, therefore, no need of a news-room; he could devote the whole of the day to his occupation, and read his paper after dinner. And then the disagreeable, the dreadful familiarity of a club-room was avoided; the specific gravity of what is in him could not be gauged there; nor could his capacity be measured by that sort of logic which Bishop Coplestone mentioned as "leaving no man anything." Clubs are true republics in this respect, and by many, therefore, disliked; for in them a man cannot by any possibility hope to pass for one fraction more than he is worth.

Time went on, however; vacancy upon vacancy came, and no candidates. Poverty, grinning a ghastly grin, showed herself; and in this condition the treasurer of the day called to his aid two of the very wisest men the club had, to consider what had best be done; how in short new health, and strength, and power, and influence could be infused into the poor old creature; how they could make her young again; and it was decided with becoming solemnity — by what means does the kind reader think? Why, by small doses of savings of candle ends and cheese parings; depletion was the course to be pursued with the dying patient. Haggerty, the respected and faithful steward, after twenty-four years of tried and honest service, resigned. The inferior servants had their wages grievously lowered; even the poor woman who scrubbed the floors was mulcted of her pittance; newspapers, as the term is, were discontinued; magazines and reviews shared the same fate; and the consequence was, a beggarly array of empty chairs, empty benches, naked tables — a splendid room, in which reigned silence, and dust, and desolation. The clergy, as of old, said: "Let us leave this place," we have not "enough for our money;" three guineas is too much; "we can be better accom-

modated at Messrs. — down in King Street at half-a-guinea a year;” and so they could. In this state of poverty and of wretchedness the poor old creature crawled on for another long year, but so utterly exhausted and worn out was this once splendid and powerful institution, that the members almost refused to pay their subscription money (only three guineas), and the treasurer was frequently (saving a prudent reserve for rent and taxes) left with only a few shillings in his purse. The days of the club were numbered, and like most latter days, were evil; and on the 13th day of December, in the year of grace 1850, the sentence “that this club be dissolved” was passed, after having lived fifty-five years and two days. On the 23rd of December, Capes and Smith, the auctioneers, came in, and sold all the worldly goods of the club, including its library of reference, such as it was, by auction, for the sum of £259. 3s. 9d. less their charges. The ballot box sold for 1s. 6d.!! Two billiard tables, made by Sharp, Roberts, and Co., which cost about three hundred guineas, were knocked down for about ninety guineas. The first treasurer of the club was Richard Wilson, Esq., the last was Vernon Royle, Esq., of Prestwich. *Sic transit gloria ludorum.**

* [The latter part of the above article on the Mosley Street Billiard Club having been contributed by the late Mr. Vernon Royle, a few words may be necessary in reference to one who, though not a native of Manchester, had been long a resident, and was in his day one of the notabilities of it. He had been extensively engaged in the manufacture and spinning of silk, and under the year 1819–20, the *Manchester Historical Recorder* states that “the silk-throwing mill of Mr. Vernon Royle, erected in this year, was the first to be completed and brought to perfection in Manchester.” He retired from active business, having acquired a competent fortune, some years before his death. He was the author of one or two pamphlets on subjects connected with trade; and had, as a proof of his taste and good sense, collected one of the most choice and valuable libraries in English standard literature which have been formed in Manchester. In reading and conversing on the topics of the day, no matter whether literary, economical, commercial, or political, he took great delight; and, full of life and spirit, had always some amusing paradox or original notion, which was the “Cynthia of the minute” to urge or propound. We have him now in our “mind’s eye” in his customary arm chair, which his goodly person well became, in that same Billiard Room, — what is there like it now in Manchester? — holding a stiff argument with the venerable Physician with the white head and the reverend Canon with the

The Older Theatres and the Drama.

THE annals of the earliest theatres in Manchester are very obscure. Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, does not notice any Manchester Theatre. We are chiefly indebted for the few brief records remaining to the late Mr. Joseph Aston, proprietor and editor of *The Manchester Herald*, and author of *The Manchester Guide* (1804), *A Picture of Manchester* (1825), *Metrical Records of Manchester* (1822), *The Lancashire Gazetteer*, &c. We transcribe, from his *Picture of Manchester*, his statements on this subject :

The earliest theatre recollected by the oldest inhabitant of Manchester was a temporary one of timber, erected on the ground lately occupied as the Police Office [which gave its name to Police Street], at the bottom of King Street [which then terminated at Police Street, whence it communicated with Deansgate by a narrow entry called Hatter's Lane.]

Afterwards plays were performed by itinerant companies of comedians in the Court-room of the Exchange [then the passage leading from King Street to St. Ann's Churchyard and St. Ann's Street], which was taken down in 1792.

In 1753 a regular theatre was erected in Marsden Street, by whom it does not appear ; though it soon passed into the hands of William Horton, Esq., of Chadderton, for on February 6th, 1758, he gave the use of the theatre for that night, for the purpose of performing a Masque, for the benefit of the Infirmary. At the time of opening this theatre, it is described

beaming countenance opposite, and quoting, as was his wont, Hooker and Warburton and Burke, in vindication of his views, to transfix his opponents with arrows from their own quiver. But his days, like those of the club he chronicles, were numbered, and he did not long survive its dissolution. His death took place in his 70th year on the 25th January, 1854, at the house which he had built, himself being the architect, at Singleton, and he was interred in the churchyard at Prestwich. He left a widow but no family. He was in the commission of the peace for the county of Lancaster, and occasionally took his place on the bench. In the month of November after his death, his well-selected library was disposed of by public auction, and Mr. Capes who had acted as the literary undertaker for the club, was called upon to do so for its treasurer. 1866.]

in the advertisements as situated "at the top of King Street," perhaps because the theatre stood in the open and unbuilt-on land which terminated the part of King Street then erected. It was opened by a company under the management of Mr. Elrington (an Irish performer), on Monday, December 3rd, 1753, with a play, for the benefit of the then infant Infirmary.*

In his *Metrical Records* Mr. Aston sings :

In the meantime, expansion of trade let in Taste,
On Shakspeare and Jonson and Otway to feast ;
For where the Commissioners Police have their seat —
In a building of boards and of canvas, — a treat
Intellectual, tho' rudely, the Drama display'd
Though money for Concert† alone had been paid.
The twig Taste had planted became a great tree,
And in Seventeen Hundred and Fifty and Three,
A playhouse was built where is now Marsden Street
For Tragedy bloody, and Operas sweet.
The third of December it open'd for love, &c.

In *The Picture of Manchester* Mr. Aston continues :

For many years the performances were advertised with great caution ; and as late as April 30th, 1760, a concert was advertised to be performed in the theatre, in six parts ; front seats 2s., back seats 1s. "To begin at six o'clock in the evening, to whatever company may happen to be in the house." The advertisement adds that "Between the parts of the Concert, for the further amusement of the ladies and gentlemen, will be presented, gratis, a tragedy called *Theodosius, or the Force of Love*, all the characters exhibited by persons without hire, gain or reward ; to which will be added a farce called *The Old Man taught Wisdom, or the Virgin Unmasked*."‡ The company that occupied the theatre at this time was under the management of the well-known James Whiteley, who seems to have acted under

* So states Aston. But a very different account is given by Mr. R. W. Procter, in his *Manchester in Holiday Dress*, in which many curious facts relating to early dramatic performances in Manchester are recorded.

† Admission was paid for a concert of music ; the theatrical performance was stated to be given gratis, in order to avoid the penalties of the law for acting plays.

‡ *Theodosius* was a successful tragedy by Nat. Lee, published in 1680. *The Old Man, &c.*, was a good farce by Henry Fielding, published in 1734.

the protection of the municipality; for on the 12th May, 1760, the constables of the town paid the treasurer of the Infirmary £50, "being a present arising from a Concert performed by Messrs. Whiteley & Co. for the civilities they have received from the town, and without any solicitation from the [Infirmary] board."

In September, 1760, it appears that there were two companies at once playing in the town, viz., Whiteley's (as before, between the parts of a concert), and one from Dublin, the members of which were called "His Majesty's Servants." They appear to have performed in the Riding School [Water Street, now Blackfriars Street], Salford, since used as a warehouse for timber, &c.

In June, 1761, a very respectable part of the combined companies of Drury Lane and Covent Garden took possession of the Salford theatre, and acted for several months. The town, considering the population, must have been highly theatrical in its taste, for one play — *The Jealous Wife* — was acted four times during the season; and the company were so well satisfied that in the summer of 1762 they again performed, having amongst them the following names, which then ranked very high in London: Messrs. Ross, Lee, Havard, Shuter, O'Brien, Dunstall, Stamper, Hurst, Didier, Davis, Walker, &c.; Mesdames Ward, Hamilton, Philips, Davis, Hopkins, Kennedy, Burton, &c. Admissions still 2s. and 1s., as they were in the following year (1763). From that time, however, the migrating London actors seem to have forsaken the town.

Aston's *Metrical Records* tell us:

In years Seventeen-Sixty and Sixty-and-One,
The town by the players was well play'd upon;
Old Whiteley possession had got of the town,
But the two London houses join'd force and came down,*
And, no place being vacant that was near to the centre,
They determined in Salford to try their adventure;
Erected a building, erected a stage,
To act o'er the passions of man and the age;

* The company which came down from London several years together, and acted in Water Street, Salford, in opposition to Whiteley, in Marsden Street, were the following: [Aston repeats the above list and adds]—This list exhibits, with the exception of Mr. Garrick, Mr. Barry and Miss Bellamy, nearly all the talent of which both the London theatres could at that time boast.

And to tempt the Manchestrans, made steps down the ridge,
And over the river threw Blackfriars Bridge.*

Whiteley remained triumphantly in [sole] possession. How long he confined himself to pit and gallery prices only, is not quite clear; but before 1770 the Marsden Street theatre had been regularly fitted up with boxes, the admission to which was 3s.

As the town increased in size, the theatre was found to be too small, and another was erected by forty subscribers of £50 each, and an act of parliament to sanction the building passed the House of Lords May 16th, 1775. On the 12th of that month the old theatre [in Marsden Street] closed with *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, and *High Life Below Stairs*, for the benefit of Mr. George. [The building has since been applied to various purposes. For a time it held the School of Design; it is now (1865) converted into a warehouse.] On the 5th June, 1775, the new house [on the site of the present Queen's Theatre, Spring Gardens] was opened under the management of Messrs. Mattocks and Younger, with the proud distinction of "Theatre Royal." As the house was not quite finished, it was only open for that (the race-) week; and reopened for the season October 9th following.† It continued under the same management for several years, when it was let to a succession of adventurers, none of whom held it long, till Messrs. Banks and Ward. The former relinquished his share in 1800, and Mr. Ward was joined by Mr. Bellamy, who, in 1805, disposed of his interest to Mr. Young, now [1825] deservedly so great a favourite at Covent Garden Theatre as a tragedian of the highest merit. Under the joint management of Messrs. Ward and Young, the Manchester Theatre could boast of a constellation of talent which no other provincial theatre ever saw. On the expiration of the lease in 1807, the lessees were outbid in their offers to rent the new theatre in Fountain Street, so their company dispersed, and they ceased to direct the drama in Manchester.

The *Metrical Records* thus sketch these events in our dramatic annals:

In Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-five
Remembered by hundreds who yet are alive,

* Not the present stone bridge, but a mere foot bridge of wood.

† This, the first Theatre Royal, situated in Spring Gardens and York Street, was burned down in the summer of 1789, and was rebuilt and reopened in February, 1790. It is now [1825] occupied under the denomination of the Minor Theatre.

Poor Whiteley, Manager, ran favour on shore,
 And was turned out of town, to return to 't no more.
 An Act and a Patent made lawful and right
 What in him had been vagrant, — an unlawful sight,
 By making the play-house a Theatre Royal,
 First managed by Younger, respected by all.
 No wonder was this, he 'd new house and new scenes,
 And management, sparing nor money nor pains,
 And of talent and genius, that stage was not barren,
 Which boasted John Kemble, the Siddons, and Farren.*

* * * *

The same year [1789] in which loyalty joy'd with the Crown,
 Was the Theatre Royal by incendiaries burnt down;†
 Some fanatic thought, doubtless, that God he was serving, —
 By deserving a rope, his salvation was earning.

* * * *

The play-house was ready for Shakspeare's loved lyre
 By the month which stood second the year after the fire.‡

The erection of the Theatre Royal in Fountain Street (opened 12th July, 1807, and destroyed by fire 7th March, 1844); of the Theatre Royal, Peter Street (opened 29th September, 1845); and of the Prince's Theatre, Oxford Street (opened 15th October, 1864); all relate to the annals of the modern drama, and we therefore close our notice here.

* Miss Farren, afterwards Countess of Derby.

† That the theatre was wilfully set on fire there are strong reasons for believing. There had been neither fire nor candle within the walls for many months before the conflagration. Since that time (though there is no previous record of a theatre having been burned) the Theatres Royal Drury Lane and Covent Garden, the Exeter and the Birmingham theatres, have been consumed by fire, — the latter twice. In America, the Philadelphia, the New York, the Boston, the Baltimore, and the Charleston theatres have been destroyed in the same way. That they were set fire to by fanatics there can be little doubt. Under pretence of doing God service, they were active in the employ of "The Father of Mischief." (*Jos. Aston*).

‡ The new Theatre-Royal (now the Minor) was opened in February, 1790.

Olden Theatricals in Manchester.

WE have before us a curious Olla Podrida of a volume, which, we believe, is destined for the Chetham Library, and which seems to have been a collection by some amateur of matters relating to the drama in Manchester in the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present century. From an imperfect sheet or two of *The Thespian Mirror*, by C. Censor, 1793, — which contained poetical strictures on the professional characters of Messrs. Cooke, Ward, Bates, Banks, Harding, Grist, Richardson, Tyrrel, Davis, Barrett, Francis, Clegg, and “Itinerant” Riley; with Mesdames Powell, Taylor, Banks and Cornely, and Misses Cornely and Daniels, — we take the following sketch of Mr. Ward:

From the court of Melpomene ever debarr'd,
Behold your factotum, respectable Ward;
Kind fortune, tho' now and then guilty of teasing,
Has rendered him affable, sprightly and pleasing.
In the walks of light comedy few can excel him,
But to undertake tragedy nought should impel him;
'Tis offending his friends to suppose 'em amused
With nature distorted or talents abused.
Still hold up the mirror to high-mettled folly,
But wake not the vigils of pale melancholy,
And (blessed with eloquence fluent and rapid)
Give Hamlet to Cooke, but personate Vapid;
Inspire with good humour the critical band,
And Reynolds* preserve from the woes of the damn'd;
For reason it puzzles, and judgment surprises,
That the stage should approve what the closet despises;
That still it continues a seeming protection
To parts without symmetry, form or connection;
Where nature 'gainst improbability stumbles,
Where wonder meets wonder, and plot with plot jumbles:

* The author of *The Dramatist*.

But thus we explain the problematical cause,
 'Tis the actor not author that receives the applause ;
 'Tis counterfeit mirth that gives reason the lie,
 'Tis laughter excited we cannot tell why ;
 So transient, alas ! are the extacies in it,
 They bloom, bud and die in the course of a minute :
 Lo ! the sentence pronounced by a jury of critics,
 'Tis a premature bantling entail'd with the rickets.

The natural failings this actor inherits
 Are few, when compar'd with his num'rous merits.
 He knows, in despite of his dissonant voice,
 The road to the heart, and to make it rejoice ;
 In Nature's academy taught he has been,
 To heighten, improve, and embellish the scene,
 To turn to advantage each mimic endeavour,
 And temper his wit with the touch of a feather.

Another of these sketches we must give, — that of Riley :

Ye children of sorrow, prohibit your tears,
 For brimful of humour see Riley appears,
 By the fates universal design'd and decreed,
 To lighten the cares of the vapourish breed ;
 The spark to enkindle in apathy's breast,
 And render relief to the mind that's distress'd :
 Ere his tongue can discover what's passing within,
 The audience is bursting with laughter and grin ;
 His figure, the oddest the world ever saw,
 Would baffle e'en Bunbury's pencil to draw ;
 Not the shape of a limb, or the turn of a feature,
 But what is a satire on truth and on nature :
 Each looks so astonish'd and strange at another,
 That all appear met but to laugh at each other,
 And pleasantly asking, "Pray tell us, my dear,
 From whence have you come, or how came you here."

The governing power of sense and reflection,
 His talent for ridicule keeps in subjection,

Nor yet for the purpose of what is called *funning*,
 Can he e'er condescend to the practice of *punning*,
 A science unworthy Wit's numerous schools,
 And exercis'd only by foplings and fools ;
 The tawdry excrement, warm from the brain,
 To all but the punster communicates pain ;
 And often poor reason it makes melancholy,
 To see how the witling delights in his folly,
 While every hearer with pity's o'erprest,
 Himself only laughs at the impotent jest.

'Tho' not a profess'd or public inditer,
 Some notice he claims as a dramatic writer ;
 His efforts eluding the critical eye,
 Occasion propriety often to sigh ;
 Disdaining the cramps of a classical school,
 His *Pegasus* soars high without method or rule ;
 And quitting indignant the attical storey,
 Resolves on attaining the summit of glory, —
 On proving to *Solomon's square caps and gowns*,
 What useless distinctions are pronouns and nouns ;
 That natural talent their wisdom surpasses,
 And traverses quicker the hill of *Parnassus* ;
 Arrives in the regions of *Shakspeare* and *Burney*,
 Ere logical dulness sets out on the journey.

I check the reflection, that tells me no more
 His *acting* will add to the dramatic store ;
 For where shall we meet with his likeness again,
 His unalloy'd wit or his humorous strain ?
 His talents, altho' by an Angel * engrossed,
 But serve to remind what the public has lost.

Then follows a slip cut from a newspaper, being "An Address copied from a MS. in the handwriting of Mr. Wm. Barnès, then box-doorkeeper at the theatre in Brown Street, which was closed on the night when this address was delivered, in 1772. It was the

* Mr. Riley then kept the Angel Tavern, in Manchester.

composition of the gentleman by whom it was spoken to an overflowing audience." It is styled "James Whiteley, Esq.'s farewell address to Manchester." It is a somewhat lachrymose and lugubrious affair, and thus commences :

Misfortune's child ! too early prone to roam,
I left relations and a plenteous home !
To tread precarious paths, untrod before,
In youthful days, this hospitable shore.
This the first stage in Britain that I trod.

* * * *

Because I would not, basely, actors see
Worse us'd than slaves in vile captivity,
Alas ! I fall a patient sacrifice,
Misrepresented by a thousand lies !

The address then closes with an enumeration of his friends and enemies :

Let Oliver — I now suppose his foe is driv'n —
May he, his dear babes, be all forgiv'n !
Let Casey now replenish his fell gall ;
Cowards exult to see a brave man's fall.
Still, consolation on this thought attends,
Ramsbottom and Ratcliffe were my friends ;
And Bailey too — that ever upright man —
Let envy's sons deny it if they can !

A wretch despis'd, society's disgrace,
With iron heart, and with a tortoise face,
A thing made up of malice and deceit,
Who ne'er blush'd tickets to counterfeit,
Was my malignant — a most pernicious foe,
Even him I pardon — as he did not know
The man he so much wrong'd ! May he repent,
And may his rancour be his punishment.
Perhaps he could not help being so base ;
'Tis natural, and pitiful 's his case.

Next follow some lines written by an inhabitant of Manchester,

and "spoken at the Theatre Royal, on Monday evening last, by Mr. Egan, on the escape of his Majesty" (from Hatfield, the maniac, who attempted to shoot George III. at the theatre, but his pistol was struck up by a Mr. Holroyd). A few lines of this loyal effusion will suffice :

But tho' a Hatfield's doom'd to damning fame,
Be thine, O Holroyd ! thine a deathless name.
'Twas thou who turn'd the murd'rous tube aside :
But for thy hand our much-loved king had died.
The guardian angel of these favour'd isles
The care approves, and on the saviour smiles.

The next is an advertisement for Mr. Ward's benefit, in which he speaks of a long and severe illness "having deprived him of the power of attending his professional duty, as well as malignancy of an individual in a published pamphlet, endeavouring to prejudice the public mind against him,—that he has little hope of profiting by taking a night for his benefit. He nevertheless submits his situation to that public whom he has ever found his friend and patron," &c. The pieces were "Mr. Sheridan's new popular tragic play of *Pizarro* ; the Spanish leader, Mr. Banks ; Rolla, Mr. Young ; Elvira, Mrs. Ward ; Cora, Mrs. Kniveton. The Royal Manchester and Salford Volunteer Band attend in all the processions." The afterpiece was *Blue Beard* ; Mr. Egan being the wife-slayer ; Fatima, Irene, and Beda, by Miss Griffiths, Mrs. Hatton and Mrs. Turpin ; and "the songs, duets and choruses, by Messrs. Asker, Penson, Grant, Saunders, Grist, Webber, Wentworth, King, &c. ; Miss Griffiths, Mesdames Hatton, Turpin, Bernard, Wentworth, Powel, Grant, Egan, and many of the first chorus singers in the country."

To this follows a pamphlet entitled, *An Expostulatory Address to the Public, by William Cross, of the Theatre Royal, Manchester*. Printed by W. Cowdroy, Hunter's Lane [Cannon Street] ; and sold by B. Hopper, Market Street Lane. 1800. In this *brochure*, which is well written, the actor complains of the reception he had

lately experienced from some of the frequenters of the Manchester Theatre; and he thus reasons on the propriety of marking disapprobation by silence only:

It would ill become me to decide on my own talents and exertions; they are before the public, who is the best, and, perhaps, the only judge of them; but I hope I may be allowed to say, that in other theatres they have experienced a more favourable reception. A fastidious critic may here exclaim, Shall the public then be denied its immemorial right to judge of theatrical subjects, and [to be] the arbiter of its own pleasures? Far be it from me to deny, or even to question, the validity of such right; but I would remark, that means less violent might be used to convey the displeasure of an audience. As the tribute of applause fosters and encourages a performer, the withholding it is sufficiently expressive. The cold negative of silence finds its way to the actor's feelings, and is the fiat which seals his doom!

The next pamphlet in the volume is entitled, *A Peep into the Theatre Royal, Manchester; with some Remarks on the merits and demerits of the Performers*. Printed and sold by G. Bancks. 1800. In his preface the writer says:

Perhaps some of the performers may think this is meant to injure them. I have no such intention. I do not blame them for coming; I only blame the managers for bringing them. Few on the stage will refuse a good part when offered them. Would not any one think Mr. Young a star of the first magnitude on reading a bill for his benefit at Chester last season, where he *modestly* announces himself for Douglas, Jackey and the Cow, Collin's *Ode on the Passions*, Sylvester Daggerwood, and Walter in the *Children in the Wood*. I am much surprised he did not introduce a hornpipe. I beg leave to remind our *bashful hero* of a passage (spoken by himself), as the Mad Actor from Dunstable: "Some London performers think they do great things if they play one long part of a night; but I frequently play six or seven, and make *nothing* of any of them."

He then proceeds to sketch some of the actors and actresses of the day, beginning with

Mrs. Ward.—She is an actress of extensive abilities, both in tragedy and comedy. She fills the stage well. Her appearance is commanding; and her middle voice clear, intelligible, and melodious. It is not so well

when she endeavours to rise to the expression of rage and horror; yet her manner and meaning sufficiently compensate for this defect. I do not know that any lady (out of London) so well supports the dignity of tragedy.

Here is a sweeping censure:

I cannot proceed farther without congratulating the Manchester audience with the temporary relief they have had from the theatre by the *Fantoccini*, many wooden figures in which do not *imitate human nature so abominably* as some of our present performers in the Theatre Royal, Manchester.

The writer speaks of many other performers, but under initial letters, or *sobriquets*, now not altogether translatable. He complains that the theatre has not, as formerly, two low comedians, and speaks highly of Mr. Penson's Sir Anthony Absolute.

*Manchester Concerts in 1744.**

WE have been favoured with the sight of a curious MS. book, in which it appears the accounts of the Manchester Subscription Concerts were kept so long ago as 1744. The concerts, we should suppose, originated that year, and the book contains lists of subscribers, programmes of the concerts, and accounts of the receipts and disbursements. Within the first back of the book (which is a small quarto, like what was formerly called "a cyphering book") is the following entry of the stock of the society:

Belonging to y^e Concert: The stage, musick desks, and benches, with y^e sconce for candles. Handel's Overtures, compleat; Corelli's Concertos; Geminian's Concertos; Fellow's Concertos, stolen or strayed.

Opposite is the date when the book appears to have been purchased or commenced, "Nov. 1. 1744," and in a large hand is the list of "stewards" of that time: "The Rev. Mr. Clayton, Dr.

* This article was written in 1844.

Walker, Mr. Penlington and Mr. James Massey." The list of subscribers for the "first quarter" commences page 4, and is so curious a record of the Manchester patrons of music and votaries of fashion of that day, that we transcribe it:

Francis Reynolds, Esq.*; John Arden, Esq.; James Tyldsley, Esq.; Robert Radcliff, Esq.; Sir Thomas Egerton; John Bradshaw, Esq.; John Haughton, Esq.; John Davenport, Esq.; Edward Greaves, Esq.; Thomas Minshul, Esq.; Peter Worsley, Esq.; Mr. Devis, Mr. John Cook, Dr. Walker, Mr. Penlington, Mr. James Massey, Mrs. Massey, Mr. Neild, Miss Peggy Neild, Mr. Ford, Mr. Marsden Kenyon, Mr. Newdigate, Miss Townley, Mr. T. T. Deacon, Mr. R. R. Deacon, Mr. Gartside, Mr. Nat. Philips, Mr. Charles Berron, Mrs. Peploe (ditto), Mr. John Berry, Mrs. Minshul, Captain Edmundson, Captain White, Captain Jeplison, Mr. Edward Bateman, Mr. Robinson (ditto), Mr. Arrowsmith, Mr. Bancroft, Mr. James Edge, Mr. Ogden, Mr. Robert Whitehead, Mr. John Oliver, Mr. John Lees, the Rev. Mr. Nichols, Miss Smith, Dr. Manwairing, Mr. Edward Greaves, Mr. White, Mrs. White, Miss Hulme, Mrs. Ann Byrom, Mr. Hall, Mr. Dawson (ditto), Mr. Stott, Mr. Patten, Mrs. Hilton, Mrs. Leigh, Miss R. Leigh, Miss Butterworth, Mrs. Bayley, Miss Whitaker, Mr. Richard Hulme, Mr. Moss, Mrs. Moss, Mr. Peter Moss, Mr. Cotgrave, Miss Foden, Miss Merriott, Mr. Dunster, *Mr. Anonymous*, Mr. Fielden, Mr. Thomas Johnson, Mr. William Johnson, Miss Clowes, Mr. Hardman, Mr. John Foxley (ditto), Mr. James Lees (ditto), Mr. Isaac Shaw, Mr. Bower, senior; Mr. Bower, junior; Mrs. Bower, junior; Miss Bower, the Rev. Mr. Clayton (three dittos), Miss Clayton, Mr. Aynscough, Miss Bradshaw (Salford), Mr. Wilcoxon, Mrs. Wilcoxon, Mr. Samuel Walker, Mr. Smethurst, Mr. Townley, Mr. Robert Livesey, Mr. Edward Byrom, Mr. John Greaves, Mr. Matthew Greaves, the Rev. Mr. Cattell (three dittos), the Rev. Mr. Crouchley, Mr. J. Hayward, Dr. Byrom, Mrs. Hopbourne, the Rev. Mr. Russel, Mr. Birchall, Mr. Jackson, Mr. William Borron, Mr. Woodcock, Mr. John Taylor, Mr. Chadock, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. John Dickenson, Mr. Joseph Haughton, Mrs. Philips, Captain Macqueen, Mr. Schoals, Mr. Yates, Mr. William Barlow, Mr. Robert Barlow, Mr. Thomas Barlow, Mrs. Lightbourn, Mr. Diggles, Mr. John Fletcher,

* By three dittos after his name, it would seem that this gentleman subscribed for all four quarters of the year at once, or else took four shares for his family.

Mr. Thomas Hulme, Miss Bullock, Mrs. Stott, Mr. Kennedy, Mrs. Lamplugh, George Floyd, Esq.; Captain Nesbitt, Mr. Stirling, Captain Harrison, Mr. Birch, Mr. Peter Leigh, Mr. Delamain, Mr. Antrobus, Mr. Jebb, Mr. Isaac Clegg, Mr. George Brown, Mrs. Baldwin, Mrs. Booth, Captain Moor, Mr. Bayley, Mr. George Fletcher, Mrs. Fletcher, Mr. Ayrton, Miss Walton, Miss Townley (of Townley), Mr. Roberts, the Rev. Mr. Lowe, Mr. Rigby (ditto).

This list of names furnishes many curious associations : amongst them, perhaps the most interesting are those connected with the rebellion of 1745. To some of these we may briefly advert. The first-named steward was the same Rev. John Clayton, who, on the 29th November, 1745-6, met the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, in Salford, and falling on his knees, prayed for the divine blessing on him. For his share in the rebellion Mr. Clayton was disgraced for a time. He died in 1773, a fellow of the Collegiate Church. [The same day the prince was proclaimed king, in Manchester, by the title of "James III."]—"Francis Reynolds, Esq.," the first name on the list of subscribers, was the father of the first Lord Ducie, and in 1744-5, Strangeways Hall (then standing amidst "green enamelled meads") was his residence. He died August, 1773.—The list contains also the names of the Rev. John Byrom, familiarly called Dr. Byrom, the poet and stenographer; his son Edward, the founder of St. John's Church; and Mrs. Ann Byrom, a relative. Mrs. Peploe was the wife of the then Warden of the Collegiate Church. Mr. John Berry was a celebrated auctioneer and general dealer of the period. His "long room," at that time the mart for everything curious and valuable, and a sort of central point or focus for the news of the town, was upon the site of Messrs. Southam and Son's shop, with a front to the Market Place.

The first ten or twelve names on the list may be said to have formed the *élite* of the aristocracy of wealth, fashion, and standing in Manchester, just a hundred years ago, and several of them yet live in remembrance, and in association with olden times, as the Ardens, Tyldsleys, Radcliffes and Minshulls. Miss Towneley's is

another of these time-honoured names. The Messrs. Deacon were the ill-fated sons of Dr. Thomas Deacon, a non-juring bishop, who practised as a physician in Manchester, and also founded there an episcopal chapel, in which he preached. When the head of one of his sons was placed on the top of the then Exchange (together with those of others who were executed for their share in the rebellion), the bereaved old man never passed the spot without reverently lifting his hat in silence, before the blackening features of his unfortunate son. The Mr. Dawson we believe to be the Captain Dawson, who is said to have been drawn into the rebellion, and whose fate has been commemorated by the poet Shenstone. The Mr. John Dickanson mentioned in the list, was probably the gentleman at whose house, in Market Street Lane, the Pretender took up his quarters, and which was subsequently known as the Palace Inn, now Palace Buildings. It is stated that Prince Charles Edward passed several weeks in the summer of 1745, in privacy, at Ancoats Hall, the Manchester residence of the then Sir Oswald Mosley; who during that time, and throughout the rebellion, lived at Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire, from prudential motives. Can the *Mr. Anonymous*, whose name appears in the above list of subscribers, have been Prince Edward, who might thus *incognito* join the Manchester gentry in the enjoyment of these new and, to them, delightful entertainments?

At page 12, the list of subscribers ends, and is followed by the receipts for the first quarter, viz.: "165 subscriptions at 5s., £41. 5s." and sundry small accounts of cash received, making a total of £55. 17s. Then follow the disbursements:

1744. November 2nd. Paid for tickets and advertisements, 5s. 6d.; candles, 5s. 4d.; Steemson, for himself and wife, £2. 2s.; Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Derec, 10s. 6d.; Wainwright, 6s. 6d.; Dickanson, 2s. 6d.; doorkeeper, 3s. 6d.; accidental disbursements, 5d.

November 13th. Paid for an advertisement, 5s.; candles, 4s. 5d.; Whiteman, £1. 11s. 6d.; Steemson and his wife, £2. 2s.; Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Derec, 10s. 6d.; Wainwright, 6s. 6d.; doorkeepers, 3s. 6d.; for cleaning y^e room, 2s. 6d.; delivering y^e tickets, 1s.; Mr. Dickanson, 2s. 6d.

November 27th. Paul Steemson, £1. 1s.; Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Mr. Betts, 10s. 6d.; Derec, 10s. 6d.; Wainwright, 7s. 6d.; Dickanson, 2s. 6d.; wine for y^e performers, 1s. 8d.; scouring y^e room two nights 6s.; doorkeepers, 3s. 6d.; bellman, 1s. 3d.; accidental disbursements, 2d.

December 11th. Paid for an advertisement, 5s.; Whiteman, £1. 16s.; Steemson and his wife, £2. 2s.; Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Derec, 10s. 6d.; Wainwright, 7s. 6d.; Dickanson, 2s. 6d.; doorkeepers, 5s. 6d.; candles, 5s. 4d.; Marsden, 5s.; Miss Newton, 2s.; accidental disbursements, 1s. 4d.; for the room, 5s.

January 8th. Bellman, 1s. 3d.; Whiteman, £1. 16s.; Steemson and his wife, £2. 2s.; Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Wainwright, 10s. 6d.; Derec, 10s. 6d.; for the room and wine for the performers, 7s.; Dickanson, 2s. 6d.; Marsden, 5s.; doorkeepers, 5s. 6d.; book for the accounts, 1s. 6d.; removing the harpsichord, several times, 2s. 6d.; accidental disbursements, 2d.

January 22nd. Paid Berry for new tickets and advertisements, 4s. 5d.; Mrs. Dickanson, for y^e use of y^e harpsichord, £1. 1s.; Mr. Kershaw, for tuning it, 15s.; Whiteman, £1. 16s.; Steemson, £2. 2s.; Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Derec, 10s. 6d.; Wainwright, 10s. 6d.; doorkeepers, 5s. 6d.; candles, 5s. 8d.; Dickanson, 2s. 6d.; Marsden, 5s.; for y^e room and wine, 7s.; Ned Jackson's bill for y^e whole quarter, £5. 15s. 6d.; disburs'd, 1d.; 48 Overtures of Handel, £2. 7s.; Corelli's Concertos, 15s.; binding, 15s.; drink to porters, 6d.

Total, £52. 6s. 4d. Cash received, £55. 17s.; disburs'd, £52. 6s. 4d.; remains, £3. 10s. 8d.

Such were the transactions of the first quarter, during which six concerts appear to have been given (for 5s.), the programmes of which we shall notice subsequently.

The second quarter, commencing February 5th, 1744-5, shows some improvement in point of subscribers, the number of tickets having increased from one hundred and sixty-five to one hundred and eighty-one. The disbursements include, amongst others, the following items: "Advertisement, 1s. 6d.; carriage of the harpsichord, &c., 1s. 1d.; room and wine, 7s.; doorkeepers, 5s. 6d.; candles, 5s. 9d.; paid for the room four nights, £1; Mrs. Dickanson, for use of y^e harpsichord, £1. 1s. (for the quarter); John Berry, for new tickets and several advertisements, 13s." The

principal items appear to be for vocal and instrumental performers, paid at each concert, as for instance: "Richardson, £1. 11s. 6d.; Whiteman, £1. 16s.; Steemson and his wife, £2. 2s.; Wainwright and his brother, 13s." &c. The accounts of the second quarter are: "181 tickets, at 5s., £45. 5s.; sundry amounts of cash, making the total £55. 2s." The total disbursements amount to £49. 8s. 9d., leaving a balance of £5. 13s. 3d., which, with the balance of £3. 10s. 8d. at the end of the first quarter (January 22), made a total surplus of £9. 3s. 11d. Out of this was "paid for Geminiani's Concertos and binding, £2. 17s.;" leaving a nett surplus of £6. 6s. 11d.

The third quarter, commencing June 11th, 1745, shows a great falling off in the subscribers, as might be expected; not merely because of the summer season, but because the rebellion had begun to array the whigs and the jacobites against each other, so that they could not meet, even in public, on friendly terms. The number is reduced to eighty-two; and, accordingly, the sums paid to performers are reduced. Richardson is paid only £1. 5s.; Whiteman, £1. 7s.; and Steemson and his wife, £1. 12s.; Wainwright and his brother, 10s. 6d., &c.; yet, with all this care, the concerts this quarter are attended with loss. The eighty-two tickets produce only £20. 10s.; and, including the balance of £6. 6s. 11d. and other items of cash received, the total receipts are £37. 8s. 11d.; while the disbursements are £37. 17s. 4d., leaving a loss of 8s. 5d.

The fourth quarter, commencing September 3rd, 1745, shows a little improvement. The number of subscribers reaches one hundred and thirty-one; but the list of their names is not followed by any statement of receipts and disbursements; and from the remaining entries, we infer that instead of quarterly subscriptions, a ticket was issued admitting to so many concerts, and these tickets were deposited in various places in the town for sale. Thus tickets, Nos. 1 to 20, were "delivered to Mr. Newton, and all sold, £5." "Mr. Berry, at the long room," had Nos. 21 to 40, and the book shows how many were disposed of, and to whom. "Mr. Budworth,

at the Bull's Head," Market Place, — (which was long the principal inn in Manchester, and twenty-three years afterwards [1768] is stated to have been the only one in the town where wine could be purchased), — had the next twenty; Mr. Grundy, at the Angel, had a score, but only sold five; the Rev. Mr. Clayton, Mr. Berry, junior, Mr. Miles Bower, senior, and other members, also took a number and accounted for those sold and those returned. After these accounts comes an alphabetical list of "Subscribers to the concert, January, 1744-5," with a series of columns and crosses annexed to the names, as if it had been used to show that the subscribers had paid, or had attended at such a concert, or had been supplied with tickets. The following are the clergy, physicians, and "Esquires" in this list:

Rev. Mr. Thomas Barker, Dr. Bew, Dr. Brown, Dr. Bradbury, Thomas B. Bayley, Esq., Gore Booth, Esq., Rev. Mr. Clowes, Sir Thomas Egerton, Edward Greaves, Esq., Rev. Mr. Harrison, Rev. Mr. Halden, Rev. Mr. Hall, Gregg Hopwood, Esq., Dr. Oldham, Dr. Percival, and Dr. Roger Sedgwick.

Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., was the magistrate who laid the foundation stone of the New Bailey Prison. The Rev. Mr. Clowes was probably the Rev. Richard Clowes, who held a fellowship in the Collegiate Chapter for the short period of one month and six days. Dr. Percival is well known by his active, philosophical, and philanthropic researches and efforts, and by his literary productions.

Two loose pieces of paper are in the book. One is a list of subscribers, December 22nd, 1745, amongst which we see, besides most of those just noticed, the following names:

William Hardman, Robert Hindley, James Heywood, Samuel Hibbert, James Hardman, George Johnson, Cayley Johnson, Rev. Mr. Kenyon, John Kay, Charles Ollier, Thomas Potter, Benjamin Potter, N. Philips, South Parade, John Ridings, Josiah, Thomas and Robert Tipping, James Touchett, Mr. Withington, Charles White, and Samuel Wright.

This list contains seventy-seven names, and at the end of it is

a calculation, "77 = 76 guineas;" 26 is added, making 102 guineas. The other loose piece of paper is an account for interest on money borrowed for the erection of the concert room in Fountain Street, which was built in 1777. It is as follows:

Manchester.

Gentlemen in trust of the concert room, Dr. to Matthew Travis, jun., for use of money advanc'd for building the music room, to the 25th March, 1776, £11. The interest of the six hundred pounds advanc'd for building the *consort* room to commence 25th March, 1776, at five per cent.

We now come to the programmes of what is modestly called the "musick," or concerts; which, it will be seen, form striking contrasts to the bills of fare now provided for the musical entertainment of the Manchester lieges:

1744. November 2nd. — Overture to *Otho*; song; German flute concerto; song; first of Tessarini, third sonata; first set of Corelli. 2nd Act. Second concerto of Corelli; lesson upon the harpsichord; song; second sonata; second set, Corelli; solo, German flute; third of Tessarini.

November 13th. — Overture to *Samson*; song; fifth of Corelli; duet, violins. 2nd Act. Overture to *Alcina*: solo, German flute: harpsichord lesson; song. 3rd Act. Twelfth of Tessarini; solo, violin; song; eighth of Corelli; overture to *Saul*.

November 27th. — Overture to *Rodalinda*; solo, German flute; seventh of Corelli; Luzinga, violin; fourth of Tessarini; harpsichord lesson, ninth of Gastrucci. 2nd Act. Sixth of Tessarini; German flute concerto; fifth of Vivaldi: solo, German flute; fifth sonata of Corelli; ninth concerto of Corelli.

December 11th. — Overture of *Acis and Galatea*; a song; first concerto of Geminiani; Lee's sonata; a song; sixth of Corelli; solo on the violin. 2nd Act. Overture to *Radamistus*; a song; fifth of Geminiani's; solo on the violin; German flute concerto; Handel's water music.

1744-5. January 8th. — Overture to *Atalanta*; a song; second concerto of Geminiani; solo on the violin; solo on German flute; a song; first concerto of Corelli. 2nd Act. Overture to *Ariadante*

[sic in MS., *Ariadne*?*]; harpsichord lesson; song; solo on the violin; eighth concerto of Humphreys.

January 22nd. — Overture to *Cato*; harpsichord concerto; a song; solo on the violin; duet, violins; German flute solo; second of Gastrucci. 2nd Act. Overture to *Ariadne*; a song; Arne's concerto; cantata; second concerto of Corelli.

February 5th. — Overture to *Lothario*; fourth concerto of Tessarini; song; German flute solo; violin solo; third concerto of Geminiani. 2nd Act. Overture to *Mutius Scævola*†; song; violin solo; third concerto, Corelli; song; twelfth concerto of Humphreys.

February 19th. — Overture to *Scipio*; cantata, "On the coast of Argos;" German flute solo; harpsichord lesson; fourth concerto of Geminiani. 2nd Act. Overture to *Tamerlane*; song; third concerto of Tessarini; violin solo; song; fourth concerto of Corelli; fourth concerto of Hasse.

[There seems to have been no concert in March.]

1745. April 16th. — Overture to *Flavius*; fifth concerto of Geminiani; song; third organ concerto of Handel; third sonata of Corelli. 2nd Act. Overture to *Richard the First*; "Thyrsis," a cantata; violin solo; German flute concerto; fifth concerto of Corelli.

April 30th. — Overture to *Esther*; sixth concerto of Geminiani; cantata; fourth organ concerto of Handel; second concerto of Tessarini. 2nd Act. Overture to *Atalanta*; song; German flute concerto; solo on the violin; sixth concerto of Corelli.

May 14th. — Overture to *Alexander*; German flute concerto; song; first organ concerto of Felton; first sonata of Humphreys. 2nd Act. First overture to *Admetus*; song; seventh concerto of Corelli; violin solo; Handel's water music.

* There were two operas named *Ariadne*, one by P. P. (1674, 4to), a translation from the French, given at Covent Garden Theatre, by the pupils of the Academy of Music; the other by Tom Durfey (1721, 8vo), which, it is said, was never performed.

† Or *Muzio Scevola*, by Handel; who wrote forty-three Italian operas and twenty-three oratorios; besides anthems, cantatas, sonatas and other smaller works.

May 28th. — Overture to *Parthenope*; German flute concerto; fifth organ concerto, Handel; eighth concerto of Corelli. 2nd Act. Overture to *Julius Cæsar*; song; second concerto of Tessarini; solo of y^e *Hoboy* (oboe or hautbois); concerto of Humphreys.

June 25th. — Overture to *Rodolinda*; fourth of Geminiani (opera fifth); duet-song; sixth organ concerto, Handel; hoboy solo; MS. concerto, Humphreys. 2nd Act. Overture to *Otho*; song; violin solo; German flute concerto; tenth of Corelli.

July 9th. — Overture to *Tamerlane*; song; twelfth of Corelli; duet, violins, water music. 2nd Act. Overture to *The Amourous Goddess*; second of Corelli; song; violin solo; Hasse's grand concerto.

July 23rd. — First Overture to *Admetus*; fifth of Geminiani; German flute solo; MS. concerto of Felton; tenth of Corelli. 2nd Act. Fifth grand concerto, Handel; German flute concerto; harpsichord lesson; violin solo; twelfth concerto of Humphreys.

August 6th. — [No entry of "musick" for this concert.]

August 20th. — 1st Act. Overture to *Esther*; eleventh concerto of Corelli; song; fifth organ concerto, Handel; first concerto of Alberti. 2nd Act. Overture to y^e sacred oratorio; song; hoboy concerto; German flute solo; violin solo; overture to *Deidamia*.

Here closes the record of these programmes of Manchester Concerts a century ago. The first thing that strikes the reader will probably be the meagreness and lack of variety in these sixteen concerts; the second, how few of the pieces named in the programmes are now known; we might even say, how few of the composers' names are remembered. If we take away the illustrious Germans, Handel and Hasse, and the Italian Corelli, what is now known of the rest? Of Geminiani we have a sort of dim remembrance, partly from finding him named in old novels and tales of the period; but who were Tessarini, Vivaldi, Lusinga, or Alberti? Who our own countrymen, Felton and Humphreys? Then, as to the operas and oratorios, the overtures to which were played at these concerts, if we except *Samson*, *Saul*, and *Esther*,

and the recently restored *Acis and Galatea*, where shall we now find the rest? Where be *Cato* and *Scipio*, *Julius Caesar* and *Alexander* now? Where *Flavius*, *Admetus*, *Mutius Scævola*, and many a "noble Roman" opera of a century ago? Where the mighty *Tamerlane*? Where *Otho*, or *Lothario*, or even *Richard the First*? Even the ladies are long since forgotten. *Atalanta*, *Ariadne*, *Parthenope*, *Rodolinda*, *Deidamia* and *The Amourous Goddess*, sleep in the common tomb! *Tempus, edax rerum*, has not spared them even the short immortality of a single century. Most of them, we should infer from the entry first noticed, were Handel's! Corelli, Geminiani and Tassarini appear to have furnished the standing dishes of instrumental music. These concerts were eked out by flute and violin solos, with an occasional harpsichord lesson, by way of gratifying the ladies; at no small cost, it would seem, by the items in the accounts for the hire of the instrument, and its carriage to and from the room, on the occasion of every concert. We have no means of ascertaining whether the organ concertos were given on that instrument, or were *executed* on the harpsichord; most probably the latter. We wish the recorder of these schemes of "ancient concerts" had put down the titles of the songs given; they would have formed a curious list now.

These imperfect records, however, which, after a century of repose, again see the light, will serve to show how dim and foggy a dawn was the precursor of the present high and palmy days of the "Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts." The hired room at 5s. a night, has given place to a splendid hall (opened in 1830, and capable of holding thirteen hundred persons) inferior to none out of London. The one hundred and sixty subscribers at £1 a year, have been succeeded by six hundred (to which number the rules limit the institution) at £5. 5s., each subscriber being allowed two tickets; the yearly income, instead of £150, is consequently £3,150; and the number of subscribers being thus restricted, there is a long list of applicants (we believe between three and four hundred) always waiting their turn for admission, the average period of which is said to be upwards of four years! It need ex-

cite no surprise that, with these means and resources, the present subscribers are delighted with the highest examples of excellence, both in the vocal and instrumental departments of the art, which the country can command, either of native or foreign talent.

*The Earlier Days of the "Gentlemen's Concerts." **

(Chiefly from the Recollections of the late Mr. EDWARD SUDLOW, organist and music dealer, Hanging Ditch, Manchester.)

BEFORE giving the personal reminiscences of an old member of the Gentlemen's Concerts (now deceased), a few notes may be necessary, or at least acceptable, on the origin of these concerts in Manchester. Their first home, somewhere about the year 1770, was in a large room, at a tavern in the Market Place, on the site of the north end of Exchange Street (pulled down when that street was opened), and the society consisted of a small assemblage of amateurs, every one of whom played the German flute! This fact is thus recorded in Aston's *Metrical Records of Manchester* :

Some years gone before, a musical taste
 Had provided the town a slight musical feast, —
 (Without souls for harmony men are but brutes,) —
 'Twas a concert composed entirely of flutes!
 Ere the year I have quoted [1777] better taste had prevail'd,
 And the flutes' monotonous tones had assail'd.
 An orchestra, varied with instruments due,
 Gave a concord of sounds to pure harmony true;
 A room worthy the object that year was erected —
 A room by the musical world much respected;

* This article was written in 1850.

Since increased in its size, as the town has increased :
The science assembled has polish'd our taste.

In his *Manchester Guide* (1804) Aston adds that it was some months after the society was established before it was joined by a performer on the violin. The society rapidly grew, and in 1777 they opened a concert-room (the first stone of which was laid by Edward Greaves, Esq., of Culcheth, August 24th, 1775), in Fountain Street, eighty-one by thirty feet, estimated to seat nine hundred auditors; but Aston says that on particular occasions it held upwards of twelve hundred persons. There was a spacious orchestra for the performers, generally amateurs, assisted by professionals, who were paid by the subscribers. These, in 1804, numbered nearly five hundred, the yearly subscription being four guineas each. The room was lighted by elegant glass chandeliers. The society gave six miscellaneous and six choral concerts in the year. For those nights tickets were issued to the subscribers, admitting ladies, or non-subscribing gentlemen who were strangers in the town. There were also private concerts every Tuesday evening, of which one in each month was for practice, preparation and rehearsal for the public nights, and then none but performers were admitted. On the other weekly concert nights, the origin of the "undress concerts," full dress was not required. At a later period the "private concerts," as they were then called, were given once a month, on Thursday evenings. The Committee of Management was elected by the performing subscribers. On the 21st September, 1785, the first so-called "Musical Festival" was held in the Concert Hall, Fountain Street.

The next, and the first worthy of the name, was opened October 7th, 1828, and terminated with a fancy dress ball; the proceeds, £5,000, being apportioned among the local public charities. On that occasion the many performances of sacred music were given in the nave or parochial part of the Collegiate Church; the evening concerts of miscellaneous and secular music in the Theatre Royal, Fountain Street.

The next grand musical festival commenced on the 13th Sep-

tember, 1836, closing like the former with a fancy dress ball, for the accommodation of which the Theatre Royal and the Portico, on opposite sides of Mosley Street, were connected by a spacious temporary gallery carried across the street. The proceeds distributed amongst the public charities amounted to £4,230. It was consequent on great and imprudent vocal effort at one of the evening concerts of this festival, in the Theatre Royal, that Madame Malibran was attacked by the illness of which she died, September 23rd. She was buried in the south choir aisle of the Collegiate Church, October 1st; and re-interred at Laeken near Brussels, January 4th, 1837. These latter festivals were not given by the Gentlemen's Concerts Society; but we notice them as one of the products of that love of music which the concerts inspired in the community.

For fifty-four years the Gentlemen's Concerts remained in the hall in Fountain Street; but they had largely outgrown it, and the present Concert Hall, at the corner of Peter Street and Lower Mosley Street, was opened in 1831. From that time the modern history of the society commences, and there we leave it, and proceed to notice the recollections of Mr. Edward Sudlow, as he told them to the writer. It should perhaps be stated that they do not appear to have been derived from any diary or memoranda, but solely from the memory of the narrator. We commence with a few miscellaneous matters, not easily classified under any particular head; to these follow some notices of the successive leaders; then the organs and organists; next the vocal principals; and lastly the instrumental performers.

The concerts were, at an early period of the Fountain Street Hall, rehearsed in a dancing master's room in King Street. At that time a half-guinea bowl of punch was allowed for the orchestra.

One of the auditors was the Rev. Ralph Harrison, assistant minister to the Rev. Dr. Barnes, at Cross Street Chapel. The auditors of 1795-6 were John Barrow, Tom Harris, — Andersch (a foreigner), and T. Appleby (bassoon). They all "fiddled." Tom Harris is said to have spent so much on Miss Shepley, &c., as to involve the society in debt.

George Beeley (son of the clergyman of Flixton Church) kept the room, and was an able performer on the contra-basso.

Dragonetti (the great contra-basso), when here, visited the Bernhards, opposite St. Mary's, relatives of the Entwistles. Mr. Richard Entwistle (who was in the foreign trade) got music for the society from Germany.

LEADERS.

For convenience of reference we prefix numbers to the names of the successive leaders :

(1.) Burchell; a very good leader. He died March 18th, 1788.

(2.) Thomas Haigh succeeded Burchell. He came from Wakefield, and was a good leader. But he locked up his fiddle, commenced pianist, realised a large fortune, and bought an estate not far from Doncaster, on which he resided till his death. The salaries in his time were nightly. His was six guineas.

(3.) William Watts succeeded. He led in 1799, and was a very fine leader. He was living in London of late years. He was a son of a celebrated engraver, and himself a painter, but played the violin; and when Ashe and Yaniewicz were in Dublin, he helped them there, and came with them to Manchester.

(4.) Yaniewicz was a good concert player, but not much of a leader. He was here till Christmas, 1804, and afterwards went to Edinburgh.

(5.) Joseph Rigby, a gentleman amateur, Burchell's best pupil. He led all the private concerts, when Yaniewicz was playing concertos.

(6.) Julius Leuchté, a Prussian, was a clever artist. He was leader in 1803, died here January 17th, 1807, and was buried near the steeple end of St. Mary's Church. While Napoleon was overrunning Prussia, Leuchté heard that his brother was slain. This affected him deeply, and he died raving mad. He was godfather to a son of old Moses Hughes, the oboist.

(7.) George Ware was only a middling leader; he was brother to the leader of Covent Garden orchestra.

(8.) Peele: he led only one night, for which he was paid 78s.

(9.) Alexander Morehead: he led two or three nights.

(10.) Richard Cudmore: he succeeded George Ware. His oratorio of *The Martyr of Antioch* was performed at the Theatre Royal, May 30th, 1832. He died December 29th, 1840, aged 53. George Ware was again leader, and was again succeeded by Cudmore. He was followed by

(11.) Herrmann, who, with his brother, was afterwards in Liverpool.

(12.) Rudersdorff, a Prussian, who did not stay long. He was the father of Madame Rudersdorff, the soprano singer.

(13.) C. A. Seymour. [Still the leader.]

(14.) La Glace, a Frenchman, led one night in May, 1787.

(15.) Master Owens played a concerto, and once led a concert with great skill. He received eight guineas per night.

ORGANS AND ORGANISTS.

The first organ of the society was a bad one. A country organ-builder named Wych, from Alderley, repaired it for seven guineas. It was afterwards sold to a chapel in Mosley Street.

Green built a new organ. When it was to be sold Wm. Sudlow offered five hundred guineas for it; but they sold it to Mr. Egerton of Tatton for three hundred guineas. Green put up an organ at Heaton Park for the Earl of Wilton.

Ohrman and Nutt were then organ builders in Gartside Street.

Robert Hutchinson (the earliest principal oboe player of the society) lived at Bury, and came to play the organ at St. Thomas's, Ardwick, for £5, his dinner and drink; but they afterwards took his dinner away and gave him a salary of £10.

Old Surr, organist of St. Paul's, played tenor.

Moses Hughes was paid for tuning the organ, but Wm. Sudlow said he did it for him.

VOCALISTS.

Before 1785 Mrs. Mountain sang here. At the festival of 1785 Mr. Mountain led; he was a great violinist.

Miss Harwood came from Haigh Chapel. She afterwards went to London, and married Joshua Bates, Esq.,* who conducted the first musical festival and the Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey. She had a brother in the choir of the Windsor Chapel Royal.

Mrs. Crouch was a Miss Phillips; her husband a sea captain. She afterwards lived with Mike Kelly.

Miss Worrall was a singer from Liverpool.

In June, 1798, Mrs. Second (Miss Mahon, sister of John Mahon of Oxford, and aunt of Mrs. Salmon) sang, receiving ten guineas for the night. One of the finest singers ever here.

Miss Wilde married Ashton Shepley.

Mrs. Shepley came from Haigh Chapel, like Miss Harwood. She was apprenticed as a singer to old Tom Shepley, and married young Tom in her apprenticeship. Old Tom was the greatest *scratch* ever heard. He pretended to play oboe and fiddle, but never could play anything. Mrs. Shepley was in her day a great singer.

Miss Shepley was a singer. She married a clergyman first in Salford and afterwards in Edinburgh. She and Miss Benson sang at his church in Edinburgh. He afterwards went to London.

Miss Sutcliffe ("Poll Sutcliffe," of Rochdale,) was another pupil of old Tom Shepley. She married Mr. Cresswell, and went on the London stage, but did not make much way.

Miss Parke, a daughter of old Parke, the oboeist, was a first-rate singer in the earlier days of the society.

Mrs. Salmon sang here in 1806.

Miss Young, a pupil of Geminiani, appeared in the opera of *Alcina* (1735), and afterwards married Dr. Arne.

Mr. Savage also appeared in that opera ("The boy—Young Mr. Savage"), and afterwards became sub-almoner and vicar choral of St. Paul's.

* [Of whom see an account in the *Grammar School Register*, Chetham Society, vol i. p. 58.]

Miss Walstein (sent by Yaniewicz from Liverpool) made a total failure, and she afterwards tried the stage.

Miss Jackson was also from Liverpool.

Miss Tennant (1800), a beautiful singer; should have married Welsh, but she married Vaughan.

Miss Griffiths was a singer at the theatre, and very clever. I think she married George Frederic Cooke.*

Bellamy (one of the managers of the Manchester Theatre, Ward and Bellamy,) sang at concerts with Miss Griffiths.

Mrs. Atkins was a very great singer.

Miss Poole (December, 1799): a fine singer, whether stage, concert, or festival.

Mrs. Addison (1802) was a regular singer at the theatre and at concerts. Her husband (formerly contra-basso) was celebrated as an adapter and reviver of music for the press.

Cimador and Mad. Dussec sang here the week after Preston Guild (1802).

William Holden (tenor) was a gunmaker at Liverpool about 1800.

Jonathan Nield (tenor) was apprenticed to old Lord Wilton, who sent him to London, and paid for his teaching under the best masters of the day. He was an able singer.

Hill (of the theatre) had a good voice — nothing else.

Spray (tenor) came from Liverpool.

Vaughan. In January, 1803, he carried letters between Miss Tennant and Welsh, who should have married her, but Vaughan became her husband.

Thomas Lee (bass), engaged at Edinburgh.

Elliott came to Manchester as choir master at the Old Church, to teach them to sing, but he could not sing himself. He got them all to raise their terms for singing. He sang falsetto. Having no roof to his mouth, he made an artificial one.

Brooke (tenor) was a glee singer.

* [This must be a mistake. At least there is no notice of any such marriage in Dunlop's *Life of Cooke*. 1866.]

Jorger (1806) was a great singer. He was choir master, Dublin Cathedral. He came to Manchester in 1805, where his concerted pieces astonished everybody. He succeeded Saville at Lichfield.

Saville was a great singer from the Lichfield choir.*

Meredith came regularly from Liverpool to sing at the concerts.

Wood was a good alto singer from Newton Heath.

Barlow, clerk to Dr. Barnes, of Cross Street Chapel, and uncle to the alto of that name who sang in that choir till recently.

John Knipe was a tenor.

INSTRUMENTALISTS.

Cramer (father of John Cramer the pianist and Francis Cramer) was principal violinist, and led all the festivals of that day.

Alcock (son of Dr. Alcock, organist, Newcastle, Staffordshire,) played off the same book with Cramer.

Clarke, from Worcester, violinist.

Harry Atherton, from Liverpool, violinist; had six guineas nightly.

Stokes played second violin at the theatre. He was a drunken fellow, and attended dances. He had four guineas.

One of the Brothers Tayleure, from Liverpool, played principal violin.

Joseph Bottomley was a violinist; and, amongst others, were Penson, then leader of the Manchester Theatre, son of old Penson the actor; Gullot and Wakeman, Lerbin and Keeley (all of the Manchester Theatre).

Thurston Clough was principal second violin till of late years. He was also organist at Ardwick. His father, George Clough, was in the society's orchestra before him.

Amongst the violoncellists was Joseph Reinagle from Oxford, who played one night.

Dahmen, from London.

Lindley the elder, then of Liverpool, who in 1804 played in a duet.

* [Saville's name frequently occurs in Miss Anna Seward's *Correspondence*. 1866.]

Katt, who was in the theatre orchestra, where William Sudlow succeeded him.

William Sudlow played violin, and afterwards violoncello. He went to London to acquire skill. He played for the society several times in 1789, during 1790, and indeed for several years, for nothing. At that time the salaries were all small and so much per night. Sudlow at length got his advance to £20 yearly, then to £25, £30, and so on up to about £40, and he was wont to say that he had served three apprenticeships (twenty-one years) in the society. William Sudlow died October, 1802. He was a music-seller in Hanging Ditch, and father or uncle to the Mr. Edward Sudlow, organist, who communicated these recollections. He had four guineas for attending the festival of March 3rd, 1790; and has accompanied Jack Incedon hundreds of times at the theatre and at concerts. Mr. Wm. Sudlow's relative, Edward, played many times at the choral and philharmonic concerts.

Gariboldi was the principal contra-basso, and the society bought from him the old black double bass, still in the concert room. It cost fifteen guineas, and the same for repairing.

Crosdell was the first violoncellist ever here. His salary was £52. 10s. Another was Richard Wainewright, who was also organist at St. Ann's.

Crathorne, of the Liverpool and Manchester Theatres, played the violoncello, and had four guineas for playing at two public concerts. People used to go to the theatre then to hear Haydn's overtures. Crathorne died a few years ago. When he would not play any more, Mr. Wm. Sudlow succeeded him.

Sharp, who was a contra-basso, had ten guineas a night.

Addison, afterwards the adapter of music, was also a performer on the contra-basso.

One of the Tayleure Brothers also took this instrument.

Another was Bradbury, of the firm of Hughes and Bradbury, music sellers, Piccadilly; and still later,

"Jem Hill," whose name first occurs in January, 1806.

Amongst the wind instruments we begin with the oboe. The earliest principal oboe was

Robert Hutchinson, of Bury; also organist of St. Thomas's, Ardwick.

To him succeeded Erskine, who was principal oboe for some time, and was enticed away by Mrs. Billington.

In September, 1785, he was succeeded by Moses Hughes, then a young apprentice at Liverpool. He was afterwards paid for tuning the organ, but W. Sudlow did it for him. Hughes died 26th November, 1836.

"Jem Hyde" was an apprentice of Moses Hughes, who had six guineas for teaching him. Jem married Hughes's daughter.

At one time Parke was principal oboe, and had £42.

James Parry was second oboe, and was succeeded by Smith.

Samuel Taylor (son of Taylor the doorkeeper) was a flutist.

Nicholson (father of the celebrated flutist) was apprentice to Robert Buckley, organist of St. Ann's (who gave up and became a manufacturer). He was a flutist and performed first at Liverpool.

Ashe came from Bath. He was a flutist; his wife a singer.

Amongst clarionets may be named: Topping; Edward Tattnall, who played about 1800; John Waddington, about 1804 (who played the clarionet or trombone); Dawson and Wilson; the three last were in the rifle corps. There were also two clarionetists named Offerman and Wilson. One had been in the Scots Greys and the other in the Oxford Blues. Get one to say to the other that he ran away in battle, and the one maligned would fight directly.

Some performers who were called "The Silver miners," from playing on instruments of silver, were engaged for one night, and had seventeen guineas.

Of French horns, one was Ross Mahon, from the theatre; another was a Hofferman, of the rifle corps, a German; and Master Haighs, a younger brother of the violinist's.

The principal trumpet was Sargant from London (£21).

The principal bassoon was Parkinson from London (£21).— Jones was second trumpet.

Kettle drums by Massey, who kept a music shop in Hanging Ditch, up a flight of steps. Beale succeeded him, and William

Sudlow and William Wainewright kept a music shop on the opposite side of the street.

Double drum by Ashbridge, who brought it with him (£31. 10s.).

MUSICAL RECOLLECTIONS.

A musical friend,* residing in a distant part of the kingdom, having read our statement as to the proceedings of the "Gentlemen's Concerts" of Manchester in the preceding articles, sent to us the following particulars connected therewith, which, we make no doubt, will be perused with interest by some of our readers :

Flute players mustered so strong at all gatherings of the nature alluded to, that I well remember, in London, at the "Boot Harmonic," as it was called, to distinguish it from another harmonic, where shoes were indispensable, the managers were obliged to make a rule that the flute gentlemen should take it in turn to play. There was very great difficulty in prevailing upon them to consent to this arrangement. Nay, one of them actually refused point blank, averring that he paid his subscription money for the purpose of enabling him to come there to play, and play he would. He accordingly blew away lustily, and was only *choked off*, as the dog fanciers say, by the gentleman whose turn it was to perform on that night, threatening to "job his flute down his throat."

The first name that strikes me on the list of leaders is that of Yaniewicz, in regard to whom the reminiscences of your informant seem to have been very evanescent. The article speaks of him as but an indifferent leader, and merely a good performer. Why, Yaniewicz was one of the first who exhibited to this country the extraordinary difference between the Continental school of violin-playing and that of the English ; now, indeed, not quite so marked as it was in his day. He was a performer of consummate finish on his instrument, and of considerable energy. In other respects he was a musician of knowledge and most exquisite taste. The writer of this well remembers hearing him accompany his daughter at the Theatre-Royal, Hawkins Street, Dublin, when the perfect

* The late Mr. Peter Arnall, formerly first horn at the Italian Opera House.

consonance of the two performers made an impression upon him which has never been effaced.

Hermann, — the Brothers Hermann, as they were called, were not brothers at all. Two of them we believe, were so, but *their* names were Lidel. They were all excellent players, and their quartets were as near perfection as is vouchsafed to anything mortal.

George Ware, whom your informant states to have been only a "middling leader," was a man of whom many queer tales were told. It is said that, inquiring in Covent Garden market as to the price of white mice, and finding that as an article of trade they would afford a remunerative profit, he purchased two old ones, and having bred a litter of their young, he took them back to the same shop and sold them at a price somewhat more than covered all expenses. It is also stated that being about to give a concert at Woolwich, where he had some military pupils, he washed his whiskers with some much-be-puffed dye-stuff, in order to appear peculiarly fascinating to the ladies, we may presume. The wash turned them *green*!

Rudersdorff, states your informant, did not stay long, and was the father of Madame Rudersdorff. The writer of this article has always heard that Madame Rudersdorff is an Englishwoman.* Herr Rudersdorff was engaged by Sir George Smart for the orchestra at the Manchester Festival in 1836, but resigned because his situation was not thought by him sufficiently prominent.

Mrs. Mountain was a very fashionable singer in her time, but would not bear comparison with those of the present day. Her husband led the Covent Garden orchestra for many years.

Mrs. Second sang at many concerts, and was thought good in days when a very little musical talent went a great way. Even then, however, many people thought that the tones of her voice too nearly resembled those of her brother's clarionet to be good for much. Poor John Mahon! The writer of this saw him playing a *ripieno* second fiddle in the orchestra of the Dublin Theatre in

* Our correspondent is certainly in error here.

1821, when, as he understood, though past eighty years of age, every lad in the band called him "Jack." Poor fellow! He had been the first clarionet player of his day, a visitor at Carlton House, and an intimate of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth.

Miss Parke is stated to have been a daughter of "old" Parke, the oboeist. I don't know what this means. There were two Parkes, both oboeists; one was called "Green Parke" (from the site near Buckingham Palace), but I never heard the other called old Parke.

Mrs. Salmon was really a great singer in her day. But her private character was far from perfect. Her husband enlisted as a private soldier. She once, in my hearing, in the pit of a metropolitan theatre, took part in "God save the King"—not Queen then—and outsang the whole stage. The last I heard of her, about twelve years ago, she applied for admission to a boarding-house asylum, at the cost of her few remaining friends, but was refused admission, because she would not give up a favourite dog, animals being inadmissible.

Miss Poole is stated to have been a fine singer. This is the lady who was afterwards Mrs. Dickens. She ventured in the lottery with Mr. Dickens, and they gained a capital prize. They did not live happily, and separated. He set up as a coal merchant, and she again became a public singer. She was not, however, "fine" in comparison with what is considered fine at present.

Miss Tennant was a fashionable singer. Her great card was "The Galley Slave," in which there was something about "tugging at the oar." Your informant says she ought to have married Welsh, but married Vaughan, and tells a story which does not seem very honourable to Vaughan or herself. I never heard anything of the sort; but in all likelihood, Mr. Vaughan possessed the art of making himself agreeable, and Welsh did not. Vaughan was a glee-singer. I recollect three of this fraternity who were called "Plague, Pestilence, and Famine;" but the party to which

Vaughan belonged was of a less obtrusive character. They were merely spoken of as "The whispering club."

I observe among your performers the name of Garibaldi. It should be Garibaldi, and in all probability he was of the family of the Dictator. He was eminent — very eminent — but it was not on his instrument, which he called his *toobel-pass* — it was for his inordinate fondness for *calf's liver and bacon*! When asked by any one to dine with him — they used to ask one another to dinner in those days — his answer invariably was: "Yes, by Cot, so you shall give me calf's liver and bacon." And this reminds me that it has been said of a late English singer, the father of a lady who stands high at present as a manageress, that he went to Italy to perfect himself in the Italian style, but returned in a very short time, because in all Milan he could find no pork chops nor a pot of porter!

Garibaldi and his *toobel-pass* remind one of the small trouble Italians give themselves to learn English. They are so well satisfied with their own beautiful *lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*, that they will not be pestered with our rugged northern dialect. Even French, so near their own tongue, they will seldom give themselves the trouble to acquire correctly. On one occasion Signors Spagnoletti and Dragonetti were invited to the annual dinner of the Royal Society of Musicians. Their healths were drunk conjointly. They both stood up, and by agreement Spagnoletti became the mouth-piece upon the occasion. He spoke a word or two of very bad English, and then fell naturally into the tongue of his own sunny land, when Dragonetti seeing, or rather hearing, that this was all wrong, motioned him to desist. "Sitty down, sittty down," says Dragonetti, and then solemnly turning to the auditory, "Gentlemen, Signor Spagnolet, he very much obliged." Dragonetti then sat down himself, and the scene concluded with roars of laughter.

Spray (Dr. Spray), a fine tenor voice, was a weaver at Bulwell, Notts. Dissatisfied with his position, he wandered through the country in search of work. At Lichfield he heard of a vacancy in the choir, put up for it, and got it. He afterwards sang many

years at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where was to be heard a splendid assortment of singers. He now went to London and sang at the Drury Lane oratorios. The conductor intimated to him that he held a certain note rather too long in "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Says Spray (who had lived so long in Dublin as to have become half an Irishman): "Ah, sure! it is the best note in my voice, and do you think I won't make the most of it?"

Quarter-staff and Broadsword Play.

THOMAS Barritt, the local antiquary, who lived in Hanging Ditch, and died in October, 1820, in his 77th year, has written in one of his manuscript common-place books the following curious narrative:

"When I was a boy about eight years old, a noted prize fighter came to Manchester, by name Thomas Barret, an old man, with his face cut and scarred all over, so that for the most part he went by the name of 'Old Chopping-block.' He taught the science of defence (or what I should think was sometimes offence), in a large room at the Old Boar's Head, Hyde's Cross. While in town he articted with a stranger to show their feats of arms in public, in a yard near Salford Chapel; at which place I attended to see the exhibition, which was performed upon a stage in manner following: First, the champions entered the lists in their shirts, and bare-headed, with each a quarter-staff, about two yards long and as thick as the handle of a pikel. These they brandished and whirled about with surprising dexterity; not forgetting every now and then to reach each other a lusty souse upon the sides, shoulders, or head, which was no ways displeasing to the spectators. This exercise being ended, and a little time spent in refreshing, the combatants approached each other with basket-hilted broadswords, and each a target [*i.e.* a large shield or buckler] upon their left

arm; seconds likewise being appointed, and upon the stage with poles, to prevent them going to extremities. In a little while both targets, not being covered with leather, were slit in pieces; and Old Chopping-block after this received a cut upon his cheek near the nose. He immediately returns the compliment, cutting his antagonist directly upon the brow; by which both their faces were almost covered with blood. After some few flourishes with their weapons old Barret receives another wound on his face, near the former, which he seemed not to approve; and, spying an open in his adversary, gives him such a slice on his forehead and with such earnestness, that the seconds, thinking it not prudent that the business should be continued any longer, parted them. This affair, however, not subsiding, a second challenge was given and place appointed, which was the Old Boar's Head yard, where I again attended, a few days after. The fellows again mounted the stage with swords; but old Barret, taking the advantage, cut his antagonist in the side, which was declared unfair play. Thus this combat ended, and was the last sword-play I ever heard of in England. In some while after Thomas Barret went to Ireland, and there followed the same business, and in a combat received a cut in his belly, which let his bowels out and ended his days."

The old Volunteers and Rifle Corps.

AT the present time,* when rifle corps are spread all over the land, there is, in this neighbourhood, a natural curiosity — promoted, if not prompted, by the reminiscences of a few of the "oldest inhabitants" of Manchester and Salford — to know something of the old Manchester and Salford Volunteers, Rifle Corps, &c., their musters, reviews, and commanding officers; and we have

* This article was written in 1859.

therefore collected a few brief scattered notices of these gallant men of bygone days, whose zeal and patriotism, we have no doubt, would, under the like circumstances, be emulated and rivalled — scarcely, perhaps, excelled — by the men of the present day who are now enrolling themselves in the various corps for the defence of their country.

It would be easy to show that there has never been lacking in Lancashire a spirit of courage which occasion soon made martial; and that at the battle of Flodden Field, as well as through the reign of Elizabeth in the Irish wars and rebellions, and also in the great Civil war, — the “Lancashire lads” were renowned for being stalwart and strong, lithesome and brave; and one military writer’s experience of them was that many were as fit to command as to be commanded. Passing over the sad fate of that active body of local partisans of the Stuarts, who as “The Manchester Regiment” escaped death in the field only to meet it on the scaffold, we come to the more recent instances of martial zeal which provoked so many of the inhabitants of these sister towns to form themselves into bodies of volunteer soldiers, for the defence and protection of their country.

In 1777, on the breaking out of the American war, the popular feeling in Manchester, as elsewhere, was strongly against “the rebels.” A meeting of the principal inhabitants was held; and an address to the King was passed, declaring themselves ready to support him with their lives and fortunes, &c. A subscription was at once entered into to raise a regiment of volunteers, to serve against the Americans. This regiment was soon raised, — a fine body of men, — with the title of “The 72nd, or Manchester Regiment.” Instead of being sent to America, however, they were employed in Gibraltar, under General Elliott, and obtained great renown for their spirit and bravery. Those who would learn their conduct and deeds in detail, may read with pleasure the narrative of the *Siege of Gibraltar*, by Colonel Drinkwater (who afterwards took the additional name of Bethune). Suffice it here to say that on their return to England, in August, 1783, they were received in

Manchester with great enthusiasm, and, on their being disbanded (September 9th), they received each five shillings with their pay and arrears; their regimental colours were deposited with much ceremony in the Collegiate Church; from whence they were removed to Chetham's Library, where they were long pointed out to admiring country visitors; and where their tattered shreds still tell a tale of the past.

In 1779, Sir Thomas Egerton, of Heaton Park (afterwards first Earl of Wilton), raised a regiment of four hundred men at his own expense, called "The Royal Lancashire Volunteers." Their colours, after they were disbanded, were in the possession of the late John Crossley, Esq., of Scaitcliffe, who was an officer in the Lancashire Volunteer Cavalry, 1797; of the Halifax Volunteers in 1807; of the Oldham Local Militia in 1809; and a deputy lieutenant of Lancashire in 1827.

In 1782 the inhabitants of Manchester raised another corps of volunteers (one hundred and fifty men) "to serve during the war with America." Of this body, Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., of Hope, was the lieutenant-colonel and commandant, and George Lloyd, Esq., was major. Mrs. Lloyd presented the corps with colours worked by the ladies of Manchester. The officers' commissions (dated September 24th, 1782) were publicly presented to them in St. Ann's Square, on the 18th November in that year.

Several other corps of Manchester volunteers were formed from time to time, some of which were incorporated with regiments of the line. Thus, in April, 1794, the regiment of "Independent Manchester Volunteers" was incorporated with the 53rd, or Duke of York's Brigade, at Chatham. Another corps that was raised here, "The Royal Manchester Volunteers," subsequently became the 104th regiment. The Loyal Association of Manchester and Salford formed themselves into a corps "for home defence."

Other towns in the neighbourhood caught the military spirit, and formed their local corps of volunteers. On the 25th August, 1796, there was a review on Kersal Moor, of the Rochdale, Stockport, and Bolton volunteers.

In 1797, Manchester and Salford contributed largely, both in men and money, to the public service. In March the 1st and 2nd battalions of "The Manchester and Salford Volunteer Infantry" were drawn out for the first time. In that year Manchester and Salford raised, in aid of the Government, the large sum for that period of £25,453.

In 1798, on the 14th February, Colonel Ackers's regiment of "Manchester and Salford Volunteers" were drawn up in Piccadilly, and presented with their colours by Mrs. Hartley. On the 25th October, in the same year, Colonel Ford's "Manchester and Salford Light Horse Volunteers" assembled opposite the house of the late Mr. Thomas Johnson, High Street, to receive their colours (his gift) from the hands of Mrs. Ford.

In 1799, on the 4th June (the King's birth-day), their colours were presented to the 1st battalion of the Manchester and Salford Volunteers, under the command of Colonel T. B. Bayley; when a sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Hall, chaplain to the corps. On the occasion of the General Fast in that year, the 1st and 2nd battalions of the same body were drawn out together for the first time and marched to church. Colonel Bayley commanded the 1st and Colonel Sylvester the 2nd battalion. In this year Major-General Nichols reviewed both these battalions, together with Colonel Ford's Light Horse and Colonel Ackers's Infantry. At this time Samuel Clowes, jun., Esq., of Broughton, was lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Lancashire Volunteers. He died October 5th in this year.—Such were the corps at the close of the last century.

In 1801, Colonel Sylvester's regiment of "Manchester and Salford Volunteers" were presented with their colours, which were consecrated at the Collegiate Church, by the Rev. C. W. Ethelston, chaplain of the regiment.

In March, 1802, the war of the French revolution, commencing in 1793, was terminated by the peace of Amiens; soldiers were disbanded and volunteer corps disembodied. In that month Colonel Ackers's corps of Manchester and Salford Volunteers were

disbanded, and on the 10th of the month their colours were deposited in the Collegiate Church. The 1st and 2nd battalions of the "Manchester and Salford Volunteers" were disbanded with some ceremony. They were drawn up in Camp Field, when the thanks of the House of Commons and of the inhabitants of the town for their services, were read to them. On the 1st June their colours were deposited at the house of Colonel (G.) Philips, at Mayfield. About the same time Colonel Ford's regiment of "Light Horse Volunteers" were disbanded, and their colours were deposited at Claremont. On the 13th May, in this year, the Earl of Wilton's regiment of "Lancashire Volunteers" returned from Ireland, where they had been stationed for five years; and on the 22nd of that month his Lordship, as colonel, entertained the non-commissioned officers and privates at dinner, in the yard of the Chetham Hospital. After dinner the men chaired his Lordship several times round the yard, and from thence into St. Ann's Square.

The short-lived peace of Amiens terminated in a renewal of the war in May, 1803. The threat of the French emperor, Napoleon I., that he would invade England, was followed by preparations on an immense scale at Boulogne. The natural effect of this arrogant menace was to unite and arm the people of England. The volunteer system, which had been more or less resorted to in the earlier stages of the war, now became general throughout the kingdom; and the bodies of well-drilled volunteers, who had been disbanded only a few months, on the declaration of peace, speedily re-formed themselves into corps, and were on the alert in enrolling additional men. In no part of the kingdom did the flame of patriotism glow with more ardour than in Lancashire, and especially in the south-eastern part of the county. In the course of the year the following volunteer corps were raised in and near Manchester:

Manchester Light Horse Volunteers — Colonel: Shakespear Phillips,
Esq.

Ackers's Volunteers — Colonel: James Ackers, Esq., of Lark Hill
(now Peel Park, Salford).

Sylvester's Volunteers — Colonel: John Sylvester, Esq.

St. George's Corps — Colonel: John Cross, Esq.

Fourth Class Manchester and Salford Volunteers — Colonel: George Philips, Esq.

Hulme Volunteers — Major Pooley.

Pendleton Volunteers — Captain Ablett.

Trafford Volunteers — Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke.

Loyal Masonic Volunteer Rifle Corps — Colonel: Jos. Hanson, Esq.,
of Strangeways Hall.

This is doubtless an imperfect list, and several of the corps are designated rather by their popular than their proper titles. In the course of the year (1803) the officers of several of these regiments were each presented with a gold medal, as a testimony of gratitude from their fellow-townsmen for their "splendid and patriotic services." Royalty honoured these corps in the person of one of their most popular commanders. On the 21st December, 1803, Colonel Hanson was presented at Court, and was commanded by His Majesty the King (George III.) to appear *with his hat on*, and in the regimentals of the Manchester Rifle Regiment, which he commanded.

In 1804 the volunteer enthusiasm was at its height. In June of that year, Mr. James Harrop, in launching a new local newspaper, sought for it the popular favour by naming it the *British Volunteer*. On the 2nd April the colours were presented to the 1st battalion, 4th class, of the Manchester and Salford Volunteers, when a sermon was preached by their chaplain, the Rev. John Clowes, afterwards a Fellow of the Collegiate Church. On Thursday the 12th April, one of the finest and most gratifying military spectacles ever witnessed in this neighbourhood was displayed on Sale Moor, about five and a half miles from Manchester. All the volunteer corps in Manchester, Salford, and their vicinity, were reviewed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, then the commander of the north-western district, accompanied by his son, Prince William of Gloucester. On their arrival on the ground the royal visitors were received with a salute of twenty-one guns from the Earl of Wilton's corps of Volunteer Artillery. The aggregate

numbers of the various volunteer corps passed under review were six thousand two hundred and twenty-six, consisting of the following corps :

<i>Title</i>	<i>Commanded by</i>	<i>Men</i>
Volunteer Cavalry ; Major Shakespear Phillips.....		138
Volunteer Artillery ; Colonel the Earl of Wilton		113
Royal Manchester and Salford Volunteers ; Colonel Ackers... ..		1017
Ditto, 2nd battalion ; Lieutenant-Colonel Sylvester		1057
St. George's Volunteers ; Colonel Cross		300
Hulme Volunteers ; Major Pooley.....		190
Swinton Volunteers ; Captain Bullock		83
Pendleton Volunteers ; Captain Ablett		110
4th Class Manchester and Salford Volunteers ; Lieutenant-Colonel G. Philips		386
Trafford Volunteers ; Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke		845
1st Regiment Manchester and Salford Volunteers ; Lieutenant-Colonel Philips	}	1119
Heaton Norris Volunteers ; Captain Dale ..		
Failsworth Pikemen ; Captain Birch.....		192
Manchester, Salford, Bury, and Stockport Rifle and Pikemen ; Lieutenant-Colonel Hanson		676
		<hr/> 6226

This review was a great attraction to the country round. Many stands were erected on the moor, that spectators might better see the whole proceedings : one of these stands fell, but only one person was killed. In July two challenges were given and accepted amongst the volunteers. On the 9th, Major Shakespear Phillips, commander of the Manchester and Salford Volunteer Cavalry, gave a hostile meeting to a Mr. Jones, a private in the same corps, on Kersal Moor. On the 25th of the same month, John Leigh Philips, Esq., and Colonel Hanson met on Kersal Moor, to fight a duel ; but they were both arrested and held to bail to keep the peace. On the 30th September, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, accompanied by his son, Prince William, inspected the whole of the volunteer forces of the town, on Ardwick Green. The

same month, Colonel Cross's regiment, the St. George's Corps of the Manchester and Salford Volunteer Infantry, was disbanded.

In 1805, on the 7th June, two cousins, named Faulkner, both belonging to Colonel Hanson's Manchester and Salford Volunteer Rifle Corps, were practising at the target, in the grounds attached to Strangeways Hall, when one of them, going behind the target, was accidentally shot through the body by his cousin. In this year, the officers of this corps presented to Jos. Hanson, Esq., their colonel, a splendid sword, a brace of pistols, and a pike, all of excellent workmanship, as a token of their respect. On the 5th December, a General Thanksgiving for the victory of Trafalgar was observed in Manchester, when the various volunteer corps assembled, and proceeded to their respective churches to attend divine service. Only two years afterwards, on the 10th December, 1807, Colonel Hanson resigned the command of the Manchester and Salford Rifle Corps, in consequence of some calumnious reports injurious to his character.

As a fitting sequel to this account of the old Manchester Volunteers, we reprint the following notices of their respective numbers, uniforms, pay, &c., from Aston's *Manchester Guide*, published in 1804:

As this *Guide* is published at a time when the country is at war (November, 1804), perhaps it may be proper to say something on the subject of the military corps which are now under arms in Manchester and its suburbs. It is true they are not a settled appendage to the town; and it is devoutly to be hoped that returning peace will, ere long, enable them to lay aside their military habits; but it certainly ought to be remembered that, in the hour of danger, when the independence of Britain was threatened, so many patriots were found in the towns of Manchester and Salford, to rally round the standard of their country.

The Volunteer Cavalry have existed as a corps from an early period of the last war and are under the command of Shakespear Phillips, Esq., as Major Commandant. They consist of two troops. The gentlemen are mounted, in general, upon capital horses; and have, for their uniform, helmet, caps, scarlet jackets, blue pantaloons, and hussar boots. Their arms are sabres and pistols. They serve without pay, and were individually at the expense of their own appointments.

The Royal Manchester and Salford Volunteers form a regiment of one thousand infantry, under the command of Colonel James Ackers. [Colonel James Ackers commanded a regiment of volunteers with a similar name, and carrying the same colours as the present regiment, during the late war.] Their uniform is scarlet, faced with blue, and white linen pantaloons, furnished by a subscription of the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford. They receive pay when on duty, which has not, with this regiment, been confined to mere parade or exercise; as they were out last summer on permanent duty at Preston for one month, when both officers and privates gained much credit for their conduct, both as men and soldiers.

The Second Battalion of Manchester and Salford Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant John Sylvester, consists of one thousand men. [Lieutenant-Colonel Sylvester commanded a similar corps, with the same colours, &c., during a great part of the late war.] Their uniform is scarlet and blue, and white pantaloons; but distinguished by their trimmings from the regiment commanded by Colonel Ackers. The expense of clothing this regiment was defrayed by subscription, and the men receive pay when on duty. Both regiments have been declared by the inspecting officers of the district to be equal to regiments of the line.

The Manchester Rifle Corps, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Hanson, consists of six companies of fifty men each, who, at their own expense, have furnished themselves with handsome uniforms of dark green, and with rifle guns and sabres. They serve without pay, and have the best military band in the kingdom; it consists of upwards of thirty volunteer performers, who have patriotically resolved in case of invasion, to lay aside their instruments of music, and exchange them for those of war. To this corps are attached three other companies of Riflemen, viz., one from Bury, one from Dukinfield, and one from Stockport, which act with it on field days. There have also been four companies of Pikemen attached to this corps, which were raised at the expense of four gentlemen; the Pendlebury, by Joseph Hanson, Esq.; the Urmston, by W. Harrison, Esq.; the Bury, by J. Yates, Esq.; and the Moston, by S. Taylor, Esq. But these gentlemen have resolved that their companies shall no longer serve as Pikemen, but that they will furnish them with rifle guns, &c., and attach them more effectually to the Manchester Rifle Regiment.

The First Battalion of Independent Manchester and Salford Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel George Phillips, consists of about four hundred men, serving without pay, and clothed and appointed at their own

individual expense. Their uniform is very handsome: scarlet, faced with blue, slightly trimmed with gold, blue pantaloons, and short black *guetres*. This corps stands very high on the scale of honourable patriotism. 'Till lately it was distinguished by the name of "The First Battalion Fourth Class Manchester and Salford Volunteers," a title derived from the circumstance of consisting, exclusively, of persons whom Government had classed in that order, by the act for the *Levée en Masse*, exempting them from the call for general defence. Their offer of forming a regiment for local defence was accepted by Government in the most handsome manner. But they have since extended their offers of service to all parts of the kingdom; and, with a view to afford an opportunity of entering into this respectable corps to others, who were not of the fourth class in society, on the 24th October, 1804, after having been reviewed by Lieutenant-Colonel Bayley, the inspecting field officer of the district, and receiving some very handsome compliments from him on their military appearance, and the very excellent state of discipline they were in, they determined to change their former appellation for that which they now bear.

The Hulme Volunteers consist of upwards of two hundred men, under the command of Major John Pooley; their uniform is scarlet, faced with blue, and white pantaloons. They have pay when on duty. This corps has been on permanent duty, at Knutsford, for a fortnight.

The Pendleton Volunteers consist of one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain Ablett. Their uniform is similar to the foregoing, and they have pay when on duty. Besides the corps which are in the suburbs of the town, the neighbouring townships have bodies of Volunteers; but an enumeration of them does not come within the present design.

In addition to the military corps already enumerated, there were, till lately, two others in Manchester; one of which consisted of one thousand as fine fellows as ever stepped forward in defence of their country, who were raised and clothed in the same manner as the regiments commanded by Colonels Ackers and Sylvester; and the other an independent corps of four hundred men, in which the individuals were at the expense of their own appointments. Notwithstanding these two regiments are no longer under arms, no one can doubt but that every man who marched under their respective colours would instantly assert his claim to the post of honour, if the enemy should escape the watchful vigilance of the British fleet, and land upon our shores.

*Brief Notes on Manchester Newspapers.**

HISTORY is silent as to the origin of letter-press printing in Manchester. It is first named in the year 1588; but it was then not a native but an itinerant press that was worked here. Robert Waldegrave, a man of good family and education, who had commenced business as a printer in London in 1578, became the chief means of printing the series of puritan tracts against episcopacy called the "Marprelate tracts." The press being sought after, he removed from place to place, now at a gentleman's country seat, and then in an empty room at Coventry; till, after a short sojourn in Warrington, it was set up somewhere in Newton Lane (now Oldham Road), Manchester, then a detached suburb or hamlet. Here, while engaged printing the tract, *Ha y' any more work for a Cooper?* — which, following one entitled *More work for a Cooper*, was an attack on Dr. Thomas Cooper, then bishop of Lincoln; both being said to be written by Job Throckmorton — the Earl of Derby (who then resided at Aldport Lodge, Deansgate) had it seized and destroyed; and, in noticing this seizure, a subsequent Marprelate tract says:

Waldegrave's printing press and letters were taken away; his press, being timber, was sawn and hewed in pieces, the ironwork being battered and made unserviceable; his letters melted, with cases and other tools, defaced (by John Woolfe, *alias* Machiavel, beadle of the stationers, and most tormenting executioner of Waldegrave's goods); and he himself for ever deprived of printing again, having a wife and six small children.

From this violent end of the Marprelate press to the publication of the first Manchester newspaper, our local annals are silent as to the progress of the art and mystery of letter-press printing here. Liverpool seems to have preceded Manchester by some seven years in the establishment of a local periodical press; for in 1712 appeared *The Liverpool Courant*, being an abstract of the London and

* This article was written in 1857.

other news, from Tuesday, July 15th, to Friday, July 18th (this was No. 18), printed by S. Terry, Dale Street.

The first Manchester newspaper appeared in January, 1719; but before noticing it more particularly, it may be well to have some idea of the social condition of Manchester at the opening of the eighteenth century. In 1701 the import of raw cotton was 1,985,868lb, the value of the cotton goods exported being £33,253. In Dr. Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* (published in 1724) Manchester is described as "the largest, most populous, and busy village in England, having about 2400 families." Counting five individuals to a family, this would give a population of 12,000. He adds: "They have looms which work 24 laces at once, which were stolen from the Dutch." The author of *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, published in 1727, says that "within a few years past Manchester has doubled its number of inhabitants; so that, taking in all its suburbs, it contains at least 50,000 people." Calico printing had only been recently introduced; the fee with an apprentice to a Manchester manufacturer, for seven years, was £60. The rivers Mersey and Irwell were not navigable for vessels of fifty tons till June, 1721.

The character of the inhabitants about this period is described as being "of a good sort, being pretty much of the old English temper, hearty and sincere in their affections; given to hospitality; very kind and civil to their friends, but very stiff and resolute against their enemies." It was the period of jacobitism, the names whig and tory becoming fixed appellations in politics, the rebellion of 1715, the birth of non-conformity and dissent in Manchester; and a time of struggle between Presbyterians and Independents, and of the Church against both. Newcome, a Fellow of the Collegiate Church, but ejected under the act of uniformity, became the head of the local non-conformists: he died in 1695. The first dissenting place of worship in Manchester (on the site of the present Cross Street Chapel) was erected in 1693. In 1714 this Presbyterian Chapel was nearly destroyed by a jacobite mob, headed by Thomas Syddall, a peruke-maker, who was executed in 1716. The

trials of the gentlemen (jacobites) implicated in the so-called "Lancashire plot," in 1689 and 1694, and their acquittal, had left rankling feelings in the partisans on both sides.

It was a time marked by gifts and offerings to the Church; the Collegiate body being then presided over by "Silver-tongued Wroe," who died on the first day of 1718. In 1700 a Manchester woollen draper, Nathaniel Edmondson, gave a marble pavement for the "altar" of the Collegiate Church, and ordered it "to be laid down at his own expense." In the February of that year Mr. Samuel Brooke gave the tapestry, representing the fate of Ananias and Sapphira, and still covering the altar-screen. In April, 1706, four large silver flagons were presented to the Collegiate Church; the four pewter flagons previously used were given to the chapels of Gorton, Stretford, Newton, and Didsbury. In 1709 Lady Ann Bland laid the foundation-stone of St. Ann's Church. In 1691 William Hulme, Esq., of Kearsley, died; he was the founder of "Hulme's Divinity Lecture" at Oxford.

As to the town itself, modern brick houses had only begun to be erected by the more wealthy inhabitants about 1690; and the greater part of the houses were the old picturesque, black and white timbered dwellings, of which two or three still survive in Smithy Door, Deansgate, &c. In 1702 a respectable tradesman of Manchester seems first to have used tea and coffee. In 1721, not more than four private carriages were kept in Manchester and Salford. The post between Manchester and London was only thrice a week; eight days being required to effect an interchange of letters. The Manchester post-office was not established till 1722. An exchange was built at the charge of the lord of the manor in 1729. It was altogether a period of rapid growth of manufacturing industry, and, consequently, of population and wealth; while party spirit, both in religion and politics, divided the community, and was productive of much angry feeling, and even violence. At this time both parties were naturally anxious for an organ to express their sentiments, and in this state of things the first Manchester newspaper came into existence.

1719, January: The first Manchester newspaper was *The Manchester Weekly Journal*, "containing the freshest advices, both foreign and domestic; to be continued weekly. Printed and sold by Roger Adams, at the lower end of Smithy Door. Price one penny." So that the first Manchester newspaper, published one hundred and twenty years ago, was a penny paper. It existed for several years. No. 325, dated March 15, 1725, was in the possession of the late Mr. John Yates, of Bolton; and its imprint states that it was printed in "*Smiby Door*." During Mr. Yates's residence in Chesterfield, Mr. C. H. Timperley, editor of the *Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (to which we are chiefly indebted for the following chronological summary of the Manchester periodical press), often saw this number of the newspaper; but he adds that it was afterwards destroyed. Mr. Adams carried on the paper some time longer in Manchester, and then removed to Chester, where he commenced *The Chester Courant*.^{*} He was the father of the well-known Orion Adams, a master printer successively, but not successfully, in Birmingham, Manchester, Chester, Plymouth, and Dublin; and there were few London or provincial printing offices where he had not worked as a journeyman. For many years he lived an itinerant life. At the Stratford-on-Avon jubilee he made some display, going from Birmingham thither in his own carriage; a few months afterwards he was a distributor of play-bills to a company of strolling comedians. He died in April, 1797, at Chester, in great poverty. He commenced a weekly newspaper in Manchester, entitled *Orion Adams's Weekly Journal*, on the first Tuesday in January, 1752; of an imperfect file of which, reaching to July 7th, 1752, a description will be found hereafter.

1730, December 22nd: *The Manchester Gazette* first published by Henry Whitworth. In 1737 he changed its title to *The Manchester Magazine*, which was sold for three halfpence. His son, Mr. Robert Whitworth,[†] for many years an eminent printer and

^{*} [A volume of this very scarce newspaper containing numbers in the years 1749-1753, is in the Manchester Portico Library. 1866.]

[†] [Robert, or as he was frequently styled, Robin Whitworth was the printer of

publisher, continued to be the proprietor of this paper till its close, and died, October 27th, 1772.*

the first edition of Collier's *Lancashire Dialect*, and many other works. His paper, *The Manchester Magazine*, was the journal of the Whigs and Government party in and after 1745; the High Churchmen and Jacobites adopting as their organ Adams's *Chester Courant*. The latter had much the advantage of their opponents as regarded the wit and the ability of the communications, in verse and prose, by which their party was defended. A very interesting and now scarce collection, entitled *Manchester Vindicated*, Chester, 1749, 12mo, contains the principal papers on both sides. Amongst the writers in favour of, what he styles, the "Principles of true old English Loyalty against Whigs and Fanatics," Dr. Byrom is sufficiently conspicuous, though his contributions are not included in his collected Works, humorous and amusing as they are. His farewell to his opponents begins as follows:

Farewell, ye wits of Whitworth's *Magazine*,
With pens so blunt and Politicks so keen :
Skill'd in composures, often to compound
Prose without sense, and verses without sound,
Where reason and where rhymes embodied meet,
One without Head and t' other without Feet.

Manchester Vindicated, p. 262. 1866.]

* [Of these two papers, *The Manchester Gazette* and *The Manchester Magazine*, no complete set is known to exist. A volume of the latter, 1745-6, is in the library of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute; but probably the largest collection of the numbers of that newspaper is possessed by the President of the Chetham Society. The first number in his series is No. 94, for Tuesday, October 17th, 1738, entitled, *The Manchester Magazine*, "printed by R. Whitworth opposite the Exchange." The last No. 3,414, is for Tuesday, March 25th, 1760, when the title had been changed to *Whitworth's Manchester Advertiser and Weekly Magazine*, printed by R. Whitworth, bookseller, next the Bull's Head Inn. In this the publisher thus addresses his subscribers: "The Printer of this paper, finding the profits not an equivalent for the trouble, intends to print no more news after this week. He hopes that during the publication of it, in general, it has been conducted so as to please those of his readers who are friends to virtue, liberty, and our happy constitution, the judicious and rational. Bigots of all sects and all parties he always did, and he hopes he always shall, disregard, tho' he should continue to suffer as he has always done greatly on that account; and tho' he is fully satisfied that the interest of his newspaper has been much hurt thro' the opposition of a party, yet he can honestly say that he has no ill-wish to any one, on account of difference of sentiment, either religious or political, his aim being to promote a regard to right sentiment and right practice, both as to Religion and Government; to principles of free and honest Enquiry, and to a Toleration of all sects who do not disturb the peace of Society. He acknowledges with the warmest gratitude, the favours he has received from his friends, who not-

1736: *The Manchester Journal* was first published. It was printed by "A. S." [? Schofield]. Little is known respecting it.*

1752, January: *Orion Adams's Weekly Journal* appeared on the first Tuesday of the month. Its printer and publisher was the son of Roger Adams, the publisher of the first Manchester newspaper, which he called *The Manchester Weekly Journal*; so that the son revived the name, but it had only a short existence.†

1752, March 3rd: *The Manchester Mercury* first printed and published by Joseph Harrop, at the sign of the Printing Press, opposite the Exchange. It was a weekly Tuesday's paper; no price was affixed. The following editorial address appeared in the first number:

To the Public. — Having been greatly encouraged to publish a weekly newspaper, I lately advertised that I intended speedily to proceed upon that design; and having now procured a new set of types to print with, I have here begun to execute it. I shall take care to answer the proposals in my advertisement, by the contents of the paper, and a favourable reception will, I hope, enable me to do it with success. Though in a time of general peace, a great dearth of foreign advices may be urged as a discouragement to my undertaking at this juncture; yet the friendly excitement that I have had, and the honest desire of employment in my proper calling in the place

withstanding the many base acts that have been used to lessen them, he has the pleasure of knowing are not inconsiderable either for number or true worth; and as he shall carry on the business both of printing and bookselling as usual, he hopes for a continuance of their favour; but as he has had repeated invitations, from persons of considerable rank in life, to settle elsewhere, if any one is desirous to make him a reasonable consideration for his business, he is willing to resign it; or if a person who has not been bred to the business is inclined to come into it, he may be instructed in a very short time." Thus then the connection of the Whitworths, father and son, with the newspaper press of Manchester, appears to have closed, after a continuance of thirty years. 1866.]

* [A number is preserved in the Salford Borough Library, Peel Park. A. S. is probably Stuart, who was afterwards at Preston, and whom Collier elevated to the "bad eminence" of having his likeness included in the curious print of *Fratres in Malo* amongst the printers and publishers who had pirated *Tim Bobbin*. 1866.]

† [An imperfect file, from which a subsequent notice is derived, was some time ago in the possession of Messrs. N. S. and R. Crompton, tea merchants, 21, Oxford Street, Manchester. 1866.]

of my nativity, are motives excusable at least, for attempting in a private station to bespeak the encouragement of the public, to whom I propose to give all the satisfaction I can, and no just cause of offence whatsoever. Such of my countrymen and others who intend me the favour of their subscriptions, shall have the paper delivered at their houses with all due care and expedition, by their obliged and humble servant, JOSEPH HARROP.

At No. 9, the title of the paper was extended to *Harrop's Manchester Mercury and General Advertiser*. It was embellished with a curious woodcut, representing the interior of a printing office. Its place of publication was opposite the clock side of the then Exchange. In 1764 Mr. Harrop published, in weekly numbers, *A new History of England*, pp. 778, "to encourage the sale of his newspaper." In an address at the end of the work Mr. Harrop says it cost him one hundred guineas. A copy will be found in the Chetham Library. Mr. Harrop died January 20th, 1804, aged 67. He was a native of Manchester, and served his apprenticeship with Mr. Henry Whitworth, proprietor of the *Manchester Magazine*. He was succeeded in business by his son, Mr. James Harrop;* who, on Saturday, June 30th, 1804, (in addition to the *Mercury*, which was published on Tuesday), issued the first number of *The British Volunteer*, price 6d. Mr. John Vint, who was for some time editor and conductor of *Harrop's Manchester Mercury*, and subsequently of Mr. James Harrop's *British Volunteer*, died May 13th, 1814. He was a native of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Mr. James Harrop, proprietor of *The Manchester Mercury* and *British Volunteer*, died February 22nd, 1823, in his 66th year. *Harrop's Manchester Mercury* expired December 28th, 1830, after an existence of seventy-nine years.† Mr. James Harrop, eldest son of James and grandson of Joseph, died October 27th, 1834.

1754, March 2nd: *The Manchester Journal*, first published [or rather revived, from the paper of that name in 1736] by J. Schole-

* [See an account of father and son in the *Manchester Grammar School Register*, vol. i. pp. 183, 220. 1866.]

† [A complete set of *Harrop's Manchester Mercury* (29 vols.), from the commencement to November, 1825, wanting a few numbers, is in the Chetham Library. 1866.]

field and M. Turnbull, at their printing office, down the Fountain Court, at the back of the Exchange. No price was affixed. It had a short existence, being discontinued in 1756. Its printer, John Prescott, died near Leigh, 13th April, 1811, aged 79.

1762, June: *The Manchester Chronicle; or Anderton's Universal Advertiser*, first printed and published by Thomas Anderton, at the Shakspeare's Head, near the Market Cross. It was a Tuesday's weekly paper, price twopence.*

1771, March 23rd: *Prescott's Manchester Journal*, first printed and published by John Prescott, in Old Millgate, near the Cross. It was a Saturday's paper, price twopence.†

Nothing is more difficult to trace than the deaths of newspapers. All that we know of most of the above is, that they are defunct; but when, how, or wherefore, passes our knowledge. We know, however, that none of these papers still exist; and that of all, only one, *Harrop's Manchester Mercury*, ever saw the light of the present century. In November, 1825, it was sold by Mr. James Harrop, son of the original proprietor, to the late Mr. J. E. Taylor, proprietor of *The Manchester Guardian*, and was thenceforth published with *The Manchester Advertiser* (already Mr. Taylor's) as *The Manchester Mercury and Tuesday's General Advertiser*, every Tuesday. The following announcement, to which Mr. Harrop appended his name, appeared in the two amalgamated papers:

The acting proprietor of *The Manchester Mercury and British Volunteer* newspapers respectfully informs his subscribers and friends, and the public at large, that family arrangements having made it *imperative* upon him that these journals should be disposed of, he has this day transferred their copy-rights to Mr. John Edward Taylor, by whom they will henceforth be published, in conjunction with *The Manchester Advertiser* and *The Manchester Guardian*, of which Mr. Taylor is already proprietor.

Manchester, November 26th, 1825.

* [Of this and of the last paper one number is preserved in the Chetham Library. 1866.]

† [The first four volumes of this paper, for 1771-2-3-4, are in the collection of the President of the Chetham Society. 1866.]

It is sufficient to add here, that *The Manchester Advertiser* first appeared on the 30th August, 1825, and after thirteen numbers it was amalgamated with the *Mercury*, under the title of *The Manchester Mercury and Tuesday's General Advertiser*, No. 3,409, on Tuesday, November 29th, 1825: "thus engrafting on the oldest journal published in Manchester that which for three months had been issued on the same day of the week." *The Mercury* continued to be published every Tuesday, with the double title, at *The Guardian* office, till the close of 1830, the last number (No. 3,672) appearing on the 28th December, 1830.

1781, June 28th: The first number appeared of *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle*. Its original proprietor, printer, and publisher, was Mr. Charles Wheeler (son of Mr. John Wheeler, of the Manchester theatre, who died October 16th, 1789). It was printed in Hunter's Lane, afterwards Cannon Street. At that time *Harrop's Manchester Mercury* was the only surviving paper of the seven above enumerated; and *The Chronicle* rose to be first in circulation and profit. Mr. Charles Wheeler, its original proprietor, died September 26th, 1827, aged 71. Mr. John Wheeler, his son, succeeded him in the proprietorship, and survived the paper. In its later years, it was successively edited, for a short time, by Mr. John Dyer (who died in London, August 4th, 1843), and by Mr. James Wheeler, the youngest son of the proprietor. *Wheeler's Chronicle* expired with the year 1838. Its copyright and type having been purchased by or for the conservative party, *The Manchester Chronicle and Salford Standard*, No. 1, appeared on the 5th January, 1839. It was printed and published by Josiah Leicester, No. 4, St. Ann's Street, and afterwards by Josiah Leicester and Jonas Barratt Hewitt, in Market Street. It terminated December 31st, 1842.

1792, March 31st: *The Manchester Herald*,* first printed and published by Messrs. Falkner and Birch, in the Market Place, price

* [A set of this paper, as far as it went, is possessed by the President of the Chetham Society. 1866.]

threepence halfpenny. This paper,* advocating liberal principles, was subject to a fierce persecution. It expired before it had completed a twelve-month's existence, on the 23rd March, 1793. Mr. Matthew Falkner, bookseller, one of the proprietors, after the destruction of his property by the mob and a long exile, died at Burnley, 8th March, 1824, in his 85th year. In connection with this paper, the following note, from Timperley's *History of Printing*, exhibits a curious picture of the state of political feeling at that time in Manchester :

A political society had been formed in Manchester, called the "Constitutional Society," in October, 1790, professedly to effect a reform in the representation of the people in parliament, and other liberal measures. The

* [The conclusion of the prospectus of this able but short-lived paper may be interesting to our readers: "The *POLITICAL* complexion of our Paper shall neither be *MINISTERIAL* nor *ANTI-MINISTERIAL*. Remote from the temptations of literary prostitution, we shall have little inducement to favour any cause but the *cause of the public*. Convinced as we are, that those who are *in place*, and those who look forward *to be so*, have separate interests, not only from each other but from the public too; we shall regard with a jealous eye their mutual accusations and panegyrics, their actions and professions—So far as they shall respectively bid for the favour of the people *by actual exertions* in the cause of their country, they will earn and shall receive our tribute of approbation. But we have seen too much of the political world to venture hastily upon praise, even of actions of the best appearance; still less shall we be prone to credit professions however plausible. The people have been too long the willing dupes of designing men and interested measures; they have been the friends of the *Ministry*, or the friends of *Opposition*, but they have never been their *own* friends; while the scattered few who have occasionally stood forward in behalf of the real interests of their country and mankind; have first or last been compelled to give way before the clamorous accusations of enthusiasm, violence and innovation. We foresee that we also may be liable at some future opportunity to a similar outcry; but although we shall studiously endeavour not to throw obstacles in the way of our own endeavours, by unnecessary violence of opinion or expression—although we shall pay regard even to the prejudices of the public, nor offend their predilection for ancient opinions by trivial innovations,—we do not profess, nor will we exercise, that lukewarm caution and prudent moderation which casts a veil over political delinquency, and conceals from the public, *what the public ought to know*.—We are aware of the dangerous and unconstitutional extent of the doctrine of *LIBEL*, and we are not anxious to incur the lash of the law by indulging unnecessary freedom—but short of this, no fear nor favour shall prevent us from making our publication—*decidedly the PAPER OF THE PEOPLE*." 1866.]

populace, then strongly attached to the policy of the ministers, entered into these unhappy feuds; and in the evening of December 10th, 1792, they attacked the house of Mr. Thomas Walker, a respectable merchant, who had served the office of boroughreeve; from thence the mob went to the premises of Falkner and Birch, printers of *The Herald*. For some time they contented themselves with collecting in a menacing manner, in front of the printing office, in Blue Boar Court, and the shop in Market Place, exclaiming "God save the King," "Church and King," &c.; and at length they proceeded to acts of violence; the property of the unfortunate printers was destroyed, and they were obliged to seek refuge in a foreign country. At this time the following curious handbill, surrounded by a mourning border, was distributed:

"Violent dissolution, being the last exit of Mons. *Herald*, of Manchester, being a near relation of Mons. *Argus*, of London, who expired on Saturday last, to the great regret of the Jacobin Paineites, &c., but particularly to the black cat. — On Saturday, the 23rd ult., died at Manchester, the place of his nativity, Mons. *Herald*, a near relation to Mons. *Argus*, lately deceased. It is imagined by some that his death was occasioned by an assault and enormous battery committed on his body about three months ago; but that was certainly not the case, as it is well known he was perfectly recovered, his organs of vision having been the principal sufferers in that attack. The truth is, his death was occasioned by six mortal wounds he had received from some masked assassins, and which were discovered in his most vital parts by twelve physicians, who were convened by the coroner to hold a consultation on his case, about the last general quarter sessions of the peace. Notwithstanding the boasted number of his friends, there were very few attended to pay their last tribute of respect to their departed friend. Amongst the few artificers who did attend the funeral obsequies, a Cooper, a Collier, and two famous Walkers were selected to bear the pall. The thing most extraordinary, and which excited the admiration of the populace, was a huge black gib cat, whose domestic fidelity was so great that he could not be driven away from the corpse, but with his claws clung fast to the pall until the moment previous to the interment. His circular back, and spiral tail, were manifest signs, during the whole ceremony, that had he power, he would exercise his complete vengeance on the enemies of his defunct master. Mons. *Herald* was, agreeable to his dying desire, interred under the pulpit of his own kirk, that, as he expressed himself, his very carcase might rekindle in the orator the dying sparks of liberty, equality, and the rights of man."

Thomas Cooper was a barrister, in Manchester, of very superior talents and learning. He wrote *Letters on the Slave Trade*. Manchester: printed by C. Wheeler, 1787; and a most eloquent and indignant *Reply to Burke's invective against Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt, in the House of Commons*, 30th April, 1792. London: printed for J. Johnson; and M. Falkner and Co. Manchester, 1792. 8vo. He afterwards emigrated to America, and we believe is still living.* Mr. Joseph Collier was a surgeon. The conduct and proceedings of the dominant Church and King party, in Manchester, appear at length in *The whole Proceedings on the Trial of Thomas Walker and others, for Conspiracy to overthrow the Government*. Lancaster, 2nd April, 1794. Taken in short-hand, by Joseph Gurney. Printed for T. Boden, Manchester, 1794. 8vo. They were all declared "Not guilty." The trial was edited by Mr. Walker, who shortly afterwards published an excellent *Review of some of the Political Events which have occurred in Manchester, being a Sequel to the Trial*, &c. London, 1794. 8vo.

1795, March: *The Manchester Gazette* was first printed and published by Thomas Bowden and William Cowdroy, in St. Mary's Gate, according to one statement; in Hunter's Lane, according to another. William Cowdroy, proprietor, editor, and printer of *The Manchester Gazette*, died 10th August, 1814, aged 62 years.

Mr. Cowdroy was a man of rare genius; a poet, a wit, a facetious companion, an unshaken patriot, a kind father, a firm friend, and a truly honest man. As conductor of *The Gazette* his light punning paragraphs were unequalled. His columns frequently supplied the newspapers with wit and humour on current topics; and many of his old compositions, with changes of name and date, were often revived at intervals of five or six years. At Chester, while uniting the duties of editor and compositor, he displayed the singular faculty of composing his paragraphs without writing them; and some of his happiest efforts in prose and verse were produced in this manner. He left four sons (all printers) and two daughters. William Cowdroy, who

* [He settled in Columbia, where he died, May 11th, 1839, in his 80th year. To the works previously mentioned may be added: *Tracts, Ethical, Theological, and Political*. Warrington, 1787, 8vo; and *Information respecting America*. London, 1794, 8vo. 1866.]

had been in partnership with John Slack, as printers and periodical publishers, in Salford, succeeded to his father's business, and died March 24th, 1824. Thomas Cowdroy had been in partnership with his brother William, but marrying the widow of a chemist and druggist, took to that business. Benjamin Cowdroy held a situation as a printer in London. "Citizen" Howarth Cowdroy, in partnership with Mr. Rathbone, commenced a newspaper called *The Manchester Courier*, January 4th, 1817, — not that now bearing the name, which was first published by the late Mr. Thomas Sowler, January 1st, 1825, at No. 4, St. Ann's Square; but a short-lived sheet. "Citizen" Howarth Cowdroy died in 1828. The youngest daughter of Mr. William Cowdroy, sen., Mrs. Clarke, appeared on the stage at Covent Garden and other theatres, with considerable *éclat*, in tragedy. (Timperley's *Dictionary of Printers and Printing*, p. 354.)

His friend, the late Edward Rushton, bookseller, of Liverpool, wrote a poem in memory of

Poor Cowdroy, by nature endowed
With talents to please and illumine.

* * * *

As the elephant's trunk can upraise
The lords of the forest as straws;
So Cowdroy could pen [? pun] on a phrase,
Or advocate nature's great cause.

If hate ever rankled his breast,
'Twas against the dark foes of mankind;
And each chain that corrodes the oppress,
'Twas the wish of his soul to unbind.

His heart was the nest of the dove,
There gentleness found an abode.

And like the bright day-star, his love
For the whole human family glow'd:
But that bosom with feeling once fraught,
And that tongue, the dispenser of mirth,
And those eyes, ever beaming with thought,
All, all are descended to earth!

Mr. William Cowdroy, jun., proprietor and printer of *The Manchester Gazette*, died March 10th, 1822, aged 47. Amongst

his sterling qualities, sincerity, strict probity, and firm friendship were præminent.*

We have now gone through the enumeration of the Manchester papers and periodicals which had their rise in the eighteenth century.

*An old Manchester Newspaper. — "Orion Adams's
Weekly Journal," 1752.†*

FROM an imperfect file of this weekly Manchester newspaper, which we have had an opportunity of examining, it appears to have commenced on the first Tuesday in January, 1752; but the first two numbers are wanting, and the first half (two pages) of the third. The paper occupies four pages; the letterpress of each page is about fourteen inches by nine and a quarter inches; each page consisting of three wide columns, so that the sheet is rather larger than that of the London *Examiner* or the *Spectator* of the present day.

In No. 3, of January 21st, 1752, we find an advertisement of a subscription to defray the cost of erecting a free bridge over the river Ribble, between the townships of Preston and Penwortham, in the great road to Ormskirk, Liverpool, &c. The cost was estimated at £2,520, towards which the corporation and inhabitants of Preston had subscribed upwards of £1,300. This number contains only one local paragraph, — a genteelly dressed woman picking the pocket of a higgler frequenting Manchester market.

No. 4, January 28th, republishes a paper or essay called "The Hermit, No. 26," which originally appeared in 1711-12. It is on

* [There is a series of Cowdroy's *Manchester Gazette*, commencing with the 7th number, and extending from 1795 to 1815, but wanting portions, in the Manchester Free Library. A more perfect copy is not known to exist. 1866.]

† This article was written in 1855.

the celebration of the 30th January, the anniversary of the so-called martyrdom of Charles I. The remainder of the paper is chiefly made up of London, foreign, and Scotch news, under the heads of "Thursday's Post," "Saturday's Post," &c., and "Country News." The last page contains the latest news, *i.e.* "Monday's Post," the bankrupts, the London births and burials, the stocks, and six advertisements. In this paper is just one local paragraph, stating that the quarter sessions [for the hundred of Salford] were over; that only two prisoners had been tried, both found guilty, and sentenced to transportation, one for cheating a person of a watch by gambling, and the other for croft-breaking. One advertisement is of a sale of books by auction, (recently bought by S. Newton, bookseller,) in the great room at the Old Coffee-house, Manchester. The following is the imprint of the newspaper: "Manchester, printed by O. Adams, and sold at his shop, the upper end of Smithy Door; where persons may be supplied with this paper, and by men who distribute them; by whom advertisements are taken in. Likewise books are neatly bound, gilt and lettered, by a complete workman. And printing in general performed after the neatest manner." The newspaper stamp is marked "Halfpenny," and has the motto *Semper eadem* (always the same). We have advanced in feats of endurance. At Gloucester, in January, 1752, a farmer engaged to ride a thousand miles in a thousand hours; in 1852, a man at Sheffield walked a thousand miles in a thousand half-hours; and in 1854 the same feat was performed by a young woman.

No. 5 contains one local paragraph,—the birth of a sort of Siamese twins at Middleton. They died a few days afterwards.

No. 6 contains one local paragraph, announcing the progress of a sale by auction of books.

In No. 8 we find the following "Fable, addressed to the country gentlemen and modern patriots:"

As down the torrent of an angry flood
An earthen pot and a brass kettle flow'd;

The heavy cauldron, sinking and distress'd
 By its own weight, and the fierce waves oppress'd,
 Slyly bespoke the lighter vessel's aid,
 And to the earthen pitcher friendly said :
 "Come, brother, why should we, divided, lose
 The strength of union, and ourselves expose
 To the insults of this paltry stream :
 Which, with united force, we sure can stem.
 Though diff'rent, heretofore, have been our parts,
 The common danger reconciles our hearts :
 Here, lend me thy kind arm to break the flood."

The pitcher this new friendship understood,
 And made this answer : "Though I wish for ease
 And safety, this alliance does not please ;
 Such diff'rent natures never will agree ;
 Your constitution is too rough for me.
 If, by the waves, I against you am tost,
 Or you to me, I equally am lost ;
 And fear more mischief from your harden'd side,
 Than from the shores, the billows, or the tide.
 I calmer days, and ebbing waves attend,
 Rather than buoy you up, and serve your end."

THE MORAL.

Act now no more, ye honest men, like fools ;
 Nor trust their friendship, who would make you tools.
 Oh ! let not this alliance ever pass ;
 For know, that you are clay, and they are brass.

Here is a dancing-master's advertisement a hundred years ago :

This is to acquaint the publick, that there is come to this town, Mr. John Anson, late pupil to Mr. Tench, who intends to open a School, on Wednesday the 25th of March, 1752, to instruct young gentlemen and ladies to dance, after the neatest and newest fashion, at a commodious room next door to the Deansgate Coffee House : and he humbly hopes that the character Mr. Tench will give him, will meet with the approbation of the gentlemen and ladies, to favour him with their children's company. N.B. Mr. Anson intends to teach one week at this town, and one week at War-

rington, so that children's parents, and others, may expect him here every other week ; and he hopes the character he brings with him will attest the great care he has of the behaviour and deportment of all who favour him with their company.

In No. 9, John Hanforth, of the Swan-with-Two-Necks, Market Street Lane, informs the Manchester public that he has "lately fitted up a genteel coach and six able horses, to travel for hire to any part of England, with post-chaise," &c., and that he "still continues to keep on *the* two street coaches in town."

In No. 15 is an article dated "Manchester, April 8th, 1752," which begins thus: "A public Infirmary for this place and neighbourhood has been long talk'd of, and is no doubt as much wished for, as it is really wanted." It ends with the intimation that some gentlemen "have begun a subscription, in order to furnish a house with twelve beds, and other conveniences for this purpose, which is proposed to be opened at Midsummer next." Then follows an advertisement, fixing a second meeting of the subscribers to be held on Thursday the 4th June, at seven o'clock in the evening, at the Old Coffee House, "to consider the methods proper to effect and complete the design." And the following gentlemen were appointed to receive subscriptions and donations: George Floyd, Esq., Mr. Miles Bower, Mr. John Lees, Mr. Joseph Bancroft. The same number announces the opening of the Old Assembly Room, and the result of a great cocking match between Lancashire and Yorkshire, of twelve battles, six mains and six byes, when the Lancashire cocks won four mains and four byes.

No. 21 (May 26th, 1752) records the death, in his 63rd year, of the Rev. Mr. Sidebotham, rector of Middleton, "which place he enjoy'd for nearly forty years, being presented thereto by her late Majesty Queen Anne."

In No. 25 (June 23rd) is an account of the festivities at Chester on the 18th June, when Richard Grosvenor, Esq., son and heir of Sir Robert Grosvenor, Bart., attained his majority. At a grand entertainment at Eaton Hall, two hundred and seven dishes were served up at the great table, a large ox roasted whole in the park,

fifty hogsheads of ale and beer drank, besides nearly four hundred bottles of wine, and all sorts of punch. On the next evening there was a brilliant ball with elegant entertainments at Eaton Hall.

In No. 26, the person who "borrowed a long sky-blue shagg cloak, about two months ago, from Mrs. Whitlock, at the Deansgate Coffee House, is desired to return it again;" and in the next number is a similar application as to a light shagg riding-coat, borrowed from Mrs. Newton, at the Old Coffee House.

The last number in the file printed at Manchester is dated July 7th, 1752. Then follow some numbers of an older newspaper, *Adams's Weekly Courant*, the first dated August 13th, 1751, and printed at Chester, by Elizabeth Adams. The number of August 27th, 1751, contains the trial of several persons for wilfully murdering Ruth Osborne, a married woman, by drowning her in a pond at Tring, Hertfordshire, on the ground that she was a witch!

At the end of the file are some broadsides, the first being "A full and true account of the whole tryal, &c., of the Manchester constables for high Treson, before mr. Baron Reynolds, at the castle of Lancaster on munday the 13th day of April, 1747. Also of the Riot which was comitted in a Market street lane of Manchester aforesaid on their comming to go home." The next is an "Ode composed in the year 1720 on the birth of a great prince [the Young Pretender]. Price 2d." Then comes "An Epitaph on King Charles I." Then a doggerel called "The Poor Lame Man's Lamentations," which tells how a carpenter's leg perished —

Caused by the fell of a piece of timber,
And nothing left but the perfect bone.

The next broadside is "A full and true account of Mr. Thomas Anderson, gent., who was shot at Shrewsbury, on Monday the 11th December, 1752, for deserting from the Hon. Sir John Ligonier's regiment of Dragoon Guards." Next are "Two Hymns for Christmas Day." The last broadside is "A List of all the ships belonging to Liverpool, October 30th, 1752, with all their names, their present commanders' names, and in what trade employed." The

whole are arranged alphabetically, making a total of three hundred and fifty-seven ships; and it is added: "There are upwards of eighty river sloops employed in the salt trade, &c., burthen from forty to seventy tons each, and numbers of vessels which use the coasting trade constantly, that don't belong to the port."

The Lancashire Magazine, or Manchester Museum.

THIS weekly Manchester magazine of the last century contains a series of articles entitled "A new History of England, brought down to the signing of the preliminary articles," which is not the same as that issued by Mr. Harrop with the *Manchester Mercury*.

The earliest number extant of the *Lancashire Magazine* is "No. 10, Vol. I. Tuesday, May 17, 1763." "Manchester: Printed by T. Anderton, at Shakspeare's Head, near the Market Cross, and may be had of all the booksellers and news carriers in England. Any person may begin with No. 1, and go on progressively." Each number consists of three portions, in different type, and with different paging. The first part consists of "A complete system of Geography;" and this number has (pp. 73-80) "Part of Somersetshire described;" the second, in large type, a portion of the "History of England" already mentioned (pp. 201-8), containing the close of Stephen's reign and part of that of Henry II. At the foot of p. 201 is "Vol. I. No. 26." The remainder of the number is in much smaller type than either of the serial parts, and has a running title of "Miscellaneous Entertainments" (pp. 121-36). To face p. 121 there has been a portrait of Lord Clive. Then follow "A new North Britain, Monday, April 11, 1763;" the celebrated No. 45 of the *North Briton* of Wilkes; and a number of letters and squibs on the subject. The poetry consists

of the "Fable of the Trees," which ends by all the rest being advised by the laurel to "revere the royal oak." "Lines to Miss W——d on her approaching nuptials" are of the usual calibre of that period. Then come two mathematical questions answered by C. S.; and four put, one by C. S., two by John Gore, of Wigan, and the fourth by J. B., of Ivy Grotto. On the blue-gray covers are advertisements of books, including "The Royal Battledore, or First Book of Children" (price 2d. neatly gilt); and "Reading Made Easy" (6d.).

The next is No. 16, June 28, 1763, in which, besides a description of Berkshire and part of the reign of King John, are *The Natural History of the Tiger, with a curious copperplate*; the Narrative of Isaac Morris, a midshipman of the Wager store ship, deserted (with seven more of the crew), in an uninhabited part of Patagonia; the origin of the Turks; the baths of the Turkish ladies, from a letter of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; a stone bridge in France formed from a petrifying spring; an *Extract from the Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Tsonnonthonans, a king of the Indian nation, called Roundheads*; Curious observations on the fruitfulness of animals; Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*; Lines for the *Lancashire Magazine*, by T. C., of Queen's College, Oxon., against faction —

It does not signify a pin,
Who's out of place or who is in;
The change is only in the name,
For things we see go on the same.

A new favourite song, sung at Ranelagh, begins, "Now the woodland choirists sing;" *The Dream*, by J. B., Ivy Grotto, a local rhyme, apparently levelled against Mr. Harrop.

No. 23, August 15, 1763, has Berkshire; Edward II.; a rude copperplate portrait of Canute the Great; Marriage ceremony among the Hottentots and Chinese; the extent of human happiness. The poetry includes a Sacred Ode on the Peace; Lines on a man being killed by a coal cart, by S. H.; the History of the

Times, to be continued once a fortnight, consisting chiefly of foreign news and the London posts.

No. 27, Tuesday, September 13, contains part of Norfolk; a rude portrait of George III.; parts of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.; part of a tale called the School of Fathers; a quizzing letter, dated Warrington, August 28, 1763 addressed by Sophia to T. B., Esq., poet laureate to the circulating library at Warrington; a dull letter from a gentleman at Amsterdam to his friend in London; a letter to the printer, on a novice escaping the veil in the Augustine monastery at Paris. The poetry contains some rhyming advice to Goodwife Dobbin on buying a Bible:

Let's see there's Anderton and Harrop,
To which of these must I apply,

* * * *

Harrop, quoth he, Harrop I'm weary on,
Joe Harrop's turning Presbyterian.
His customers are left i'th' lurch,
His Bible batters down the church,
But go your way to Shakspeare's Head,
And there you'll both be taught and fed.

Shakspeare's Head was Anderton's sign. Then follows "A hymn sung at Mr. Atha's burial, all the way down to the church, 24th July, 1763." "Epitaph on a Scold." A song by a Devonshire cyder maker, of which the chorus will give a sufficient idea:

Then chorus my lads in defence of your fruit,
Like heroes and wise-men,
Drive cyder-excisemen;
For Englishmen scorn to be taxed by a Bute.

Epigrams without point, rebuses in rhyme, and weary enigmas make up the rest of the poetry. Mathematical questions and the History of the Times fill up the number.

No. 52, February 21, 1764, is entitled *The Lancashire Magazine, or Manchester Weekly Amusement*. It contains part of Scotland; part of the reign of Philip and Mary; the 10th and 11th

chapters of the Natural History of Animals. The Weekly Amusement includes *Orasmin and Almira*, an Oriental Tale; advice given to an Eastern king by his brother; a letter to the printer on an insult offered to the Morocco ambassador; another from Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn to the East India Company; an account of an escape from drowning of one born to be hanged; a letter from America on the Indian war; another as to arrests; what constitutes a true Christian; suggestions on substitutes for corn-bread in a wet season and damaged corn; and an account of a letter of thanks to Sir W. Meredith, Bart., from his Liverpool constituents.

Another imperfect number should be placed before the last, as containing Gloucestershire; part of the reigns of Henry V. and VI.; part of the first chapter of the Natural History of Quadrupeds, with a plate of the Siberian cow, musk animal, hog cow, and Barbary sheep. The Miscellaneous Entertainments include a copy of the Proclamation to the army in North America, in October, 1763; *Mehemet Agi the Merchant*, an Eastern Tale. In poetry, two fables; the Blind Man and his Dog (the moral being that they must be unhappy who guide the state or lead the blind); and the River and the Meadow; to Clio, &c. The History of the Times contains the death of Augustus III., king of Poland. An advertisement on the cover announces, price sixpence, "Timothy Grin's Merry Jester;" with a caution that pirates of its jokes will be prosecuted.—The Magazine was certainly as dull reading as could well be imagined; and we have only noticed it to show the character of a locally-printed Magazine of eighty years ago.

*Local Broadsides.**

SUCH is the title of a sort of folio scrap-book, of local and other prints, broadsides, &c., which is deposited in the Salford Royal Borough Library, Peel Park. The first sheet is a local newspaper, *The Manchester Journal*, "from Tuesday, August 17th, to Tuesday, August 24th, 1736. No. 22. Price three halfpence;" and the paper bears a halfpenny stamp. The dimensions of one page of its type are little more than thirteen inches by eight inches, or one hundred and four square inches. Those of a page of *The Manchester Guardian* of this day are twenty-three inches by sixteen and a quarter inches, or nearly three hundred and seventy-four square inches. There are three columns only in a page; and the first page and half the second are filled with an attested copy of "the remarkable will of Samuel Wright, Esq., late of Newington-Green;" which, after numerous legacies to relatives, friends, servants, &c., contains a vast number of benevolent bequests to non-conformist and other dissenting ministers; to "honest, sober, clergymen, of temper and moderate charitable principles to their dissenting brethren;" to poor decayed families, widows, maidens, poor boys; to various religious and charitable societies, hospitals, workhouses; to the prisoners in four London prisons; to the poor in various parishes, &c. All residue of money to the widows or poor orphans of dissenting ministers. He desires that his funeral may be performed in a grave, decent, and not pompous manner; he would have no blue-coat or parish boys at his funeral, nor any escutcheons, guidons, or the like. He limits the gold memorial rings to a guinea each in value. In a sort of codicil, he declares that he lives and dies unmarried, and that he never was under any contract or engagement with any woman, &c. — Amongst the news, under the head Scotland, "Edinburgh, August 10th," we are told that "Yesterday, John Porteus, under sentence of death, was, at his own desire, prayed for in all the churches and meeting-houses

* This article was written in 1856.

in this city." The rest of the news is collected under the heads "Thursday Night's Post" (which includes the *Evening Posts* and the written letters); the same as to "Saturday Night's Post" and "Monday Night's Post." There is not a single local paragraph, unless a marvellous cure of a woman at Holcombe, in the parish of Bury, be accounted one. Then follow the bankrupts, stocks, births and burials (in London). The imprint of the paper runs: "Manchester: Printed by A. S. at his printing-office, at John Berry's near the Cross, and sold in the following towns, viz.: Warrington, Ormskirk, Liverpool, Chester, Wigan, Bolton, Bury, Stockport, Macclesfield, Ashton, Preston, Knutsford, Blackburn, &c.; where advertisements are taken in." This number, however, does not contain a single advertisement. It is remarkable that neither Oldham nor Rochdale is included in the list of towns.

No. 2 is a broadside, in two columns, entitled, *Brother Fustian's Advice to the Inhabitants of Manchester and Salford*. It is dated "December 10, 1792," and commences: "Brother Weavers and Artificers, do not let us be humbugged by Mr. Paine, who tells us a great many truths in his book, in order to shove off his lies; we know that an imperfect reed won't make a perfect piece," &c. The object is to warn the inhabitants against "Jacobin emissaries." "When we get hold of a tankard of good ale or a bottle of old port, let's make ourselves merry, and drink confusion to the enemies of our king and constitution."

No. 3 is a small broadside, dated "Preston, January 19, 1793," entitled *A full, true, and impartial Account of the Execution of Thomas Paine*. It describes circumstantially the supposed execution (which, it is almost unnecessary to say, never took place, except in effigy, as Paine died in America, and Mr. Cobbett proposed to bring his bones to England); an attempt made by the criminal to escape the gallows, fortunately prevented by the militia, and after hanging the usual time his body was committed to the flames. The sheet is signed by "S. P---tt---s---n."

No. 4 is another anti-jacobin broadside, dated "Wednesday afternoon, 28th January, 1795," and headed, *The protection of the*

King and the salvation of the country. "All friends to the King and Constitution are earnestly requested to attend at Spencer's Tavern, in the Market Place, Manchester, to-morrow the 29th instant, at eleven o'clock, to subscribe to an address to his Majesty (whom God preserve long to reign over us) to support, and not to destroy, Old England." In parallel columns the writer, "A Briton," asserts what "a king (at Spencer's Tavern)" does; and what, on the other hand, "no king, republicans and jacobins" do. The first "secures your lives, protects your liberty, defends your property, is a father to his people, a friend to the human race, a free-born Briton," &c. The latter "murder kings, nobles, priests, pull down and plunder churches, abolish religion, encourage heathenism, rob the rich, despise the poor, guillotine their friends," &c. This appears to have been sent by post to a gentleman whose name is on the superscription.

No. 5 is a circular address of two pages quarto, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of Manchester and its neighbourhood.* It is without date, but internal evidence proves it to have been issued in the latter part of the year 1795. It is to arouse an opposition to two "convention bills," for limiting the liberty of the press, and depriving the people of the right of assembling for discussion. It denounces the spy system, the ministry and their supporters, and praises "the firm and manly efforts of the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the minority of the lords,—and of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and the minority in the House of Commons, in opposition to this dangerous measure."

No. 6 is dated "Manchester, December 1, 1795," and is headed *Public Town's Meeting.* It seems that twenty-nine gentlemen, "justly alarmed at the two bills now pending in parliament, introduced severally by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville," &c., signed a requisition to the boroughreeve and constables of Manchester, asking them to "call a meeting of the town and neighbourhood on an early day, to consider the propriety of petitioning against the said bills." This was dated November 28. On the following "Monday afternoon, November 30," the boroughreeve and one of

the constables (the other, Mr. Myers, being absent) addressed to Mr. Samuel Greg, one of the requisitionists, a reply, stating "that a counter-requisition was so numerous and respectably signed, and pointed out so strongly the impropriety of holding a town's meeting at this time, that they had determined (notwithstanding Mr. Myers's absence) to call no public meeting upon the present occasion." This was signed "Hy. Farrington, Chris'r. Marriott." The requisitionists state that these authorities refused to show the counter-requisition or to explain the impropriety of calling a town's meeting. The twenty-nine requisitionists, joined by twenty-two other gentlemen (fifty-one in all), accordingly request that the inhabitants will meet together at the New Market Hall, in Manchester, on Monday next, the 7th [December] instant, at eleven o'clock, "for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning against the said bills, and praying the legislature to use effectual means for restoring the blessings of peace and plenty to this country." The names of this small party of what were then denominated "Jacobins," but would now be called "liberals" in Manchester, are worth reprinting.

George Lloyd	William Seddon	Thomas Faulkner
Joshua Smith	John Mitchell, M.D.	John Nash
George Philips	John Ridgway, junior	James Hurst
P. H. Harrison	John Mather	Thomas Frost
James Pilling	Richard Walker	Charles Stanley
Thomas Kershaw	R. Farrand	George Duckworth
Joseph Boardman	Samuel Marsland	Richard Roberts
John Clegg	Samuel Greg	Joseph Mason
Herbert Edgar	Thomas Preston	Falkner Phillips
James Smith	Thomas Bateman	William Rawlinson
Thomas Walker	James Norman	Arthur Clegg
William Rigby	William Mitchell	Joseph Aston*
Joseph Hanson	Samuel Heginbottom	Samuel Barnes
Samuel Mather	James Kirkman	John Branch
Robert Norris	Abram Levy	John Boyes
Samuel Jackson	James Lees	William Mouncey
Robert Philips	L. Buchan	William Fisher.

* [It is curious to see the name of Joseph Aston in this list. At this period he

This broadside has been sent by post to "Thomas Johnson, Esq., Tildsley Banks." This announcement seems to have roused an organized attempt at opposition to the meeting.

No. 7 is a broadside, headed *General Meeting of Delegates from the Loyal Associations of Manchester and Salford*, dated "Black-a-Moor's Head, 3rd December, 1795." It is a furious diatribe against the "masked traitors," the "shameless wretches," "who seek to stimulate you to acts of foul hostility against our wholesome government;" and all good subjects are called on to show "your warm affection for the best of kings, your unshaken attachment for the best of constitutions." The appeal is "Signed by order, Charles Evans, chairman."

No. 8 is a short address from the "Loyal Association, Crown and Cushion, Salford," dated Friday night, December 4, 1795, and calling on those who are "firmly attached to the present excellent system of government, who revere the king and venerate the laws," &c., to "attend the meeting on Monday next, in the New Market Hall, to express your marked abhorrence of those men and measures," &c. "God save the King, and by your early attendance protect your constitution. John Beadnall, chairman."

In No. 9 the committee of the same association, next morning, "Dec. 5, 1795," urge "the loyal and constitutional inhabitants," "as you value the life and dignity of your king, the excellence of your constitution, and the safety of your country," to "reflect on the desperation of the repeated attempts that have just been so violently made in direct opposition to the decided opinion and wish of the inhabitants." "As a violent attempt is particularly made by the disaffected party, to interrupt the peace of the town on Monday next, &c., we entreat you once more to assemble with your wonted zeal, alacrity, and unanimity, to counteract an attempt," &c. This is signed "John Giller, chairman."

No. 10 is one of that disgraceful class of lampoons which were appears to have been a strenuous supporter of Radical or Jacobin politics, though in his latter days he came out in his *Exchange Herald*, and other publications, as a firm ally of the Tory party. 1866.]

so rife at this period. It professes to be dated "Paris, 4th year of anarchy and 1st of despotism:"

M. Petion, principal butcher in Paris, and wholesale dealer in human flesh, having several thousands of mangled bodies at his disposal, begs leave to acquaint all gentlemen of the faculty throughout Europe, that he sells, of any size, age, or dimension, cheaper by 90 per cent than ever before offered to the public. Should the president or members of certain meetings wish the bodies of those who are at present alive, they may, on application, and for ready money, have them sent in a few days, unless the Duke of Br-n-wick, previous to that time, should deprive us jacobins of that innate satisfaction and tranquil happiness we at present enjoy from murdering the innocent. — N.B. All orders received by my agent, till further notice, at his printing shop, not twenty miles from the pillory, in Manchester, will be attended to: and allowances made for those bodies who have lost leg, arm, or head in their own defence.

No. 11 is a small broadside address *To the loyal and peaceable inhabitants of Manchester*, warning them against "the friends of sedition, treason and rebellion," and intimating that if a revolution should take place, as was "the undoubted wish and ultimate aim of all mock patriots, reformists, and pretended friends of the people," — "rape, devastation and murder, would become the familiar tyrants of the land;" property would be seized, habitations stormed, open massacre would be the order of the day and assassination of the night, the country would be deluged with blood; religion, virtue, truth, justice, law, liberty, &c., would all be swallowed up, &c.

No. 12 is headed *Wolves in sheep's clothing*, and is a quarto bill, signed "Veritas," intimating that a most honourable peace is at hand, and that the Jacobins are fighting to enjoy the honour of that peace. "The bills talked of . . . attack no liberties, destroy no rights, nor molest any but those whose object is plunder," &c. This bill is endorsed, "Mr. Johnuson, Tildsley Banks," and at the foot is written: "There was a respectable meeting of the constitutional society. They protested against the meeting which

the Jacobins have called for Monday. We know no more than the papers will inform you."

No. 13, and the last bill on the subject of this "town's meeting," is dated "Saturday afternoon," [Dec. 5, 1795], and announces that

The Lord of the Manor having refused the use of the New Market Hall, which his agent had previously granted for the town's meeting, intended to be held there, on Monday morning next, the seventh instant, to consider the propriety of petitioning against the alarming bills now pending in parliament, and praying the legislature to use effectual means for restoring the blessings of peace and plenty to this country, the public are hereby informed that the said meeting will be held, at eleven o'clock, on the said morning, in a large plot of ground, situate between St. John's Church and Castle Field, in Manchester.

These are all the broadsides in the volume, printed within the last century, and all that relate to the meeting of the so-called "Jacobins," on December 7, 1795.

GENEALOGY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Radcliffes of "The Pool."

THIS was an ancient Manchester family, whose mansion stood on the ground now covered by parts of New Market, Chapel Walks, and the Cross Street Chapel. Incidental notices of the family and their house occur in the old Manchester Court Leet Records. In Butterworth's *Antiquities of Manchester* it is stated that "an old house in Pool Fold, now converted into a public-house, &c., was the seat of a Ratcliff [Radcliffe] in the reign of Charles I., at which time it was surrounded by a moat, with a draw-bridge. The post and chains were taken away, and probably the moat filled up, about 1672." That there existed a pool near the house is evident from the fact that it was subsequently used for ducking scolds and ill-ordered women, for many years.

It has been stated that from the existence of the pool or moat, wherein the duckings took place, on the site of the present Cross Street Chapel, that place of worship was derisively called St. Plungeon's; but, on the other hand, it is said that this is an error. The land, we are informed, belonged to a Mr. Plungeon, whose name, and that of his widow, occur in the Court Leet entries of that period, and the site was purchased of a descendant of the family. An old act of parliament, passed early in the reign of George I., entitled "An act to enable Thomas Browne, gentleman, to grant building leases of his estates in the town of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster," sets forth in the preamble, that "Whereas Joshua Browne, late of Manchester, gentleman, deceased, did by his last will and testament, dated 4th May, in the sixth year of the reign of their late majesties King William and Queen Mary [A.D. 1694],

give and devise unto his loving wife, Anne Browne, and her assigns, his several messuages, burgages, and tenements, with their appurtenances, situate in Manchester aforesaid, in or near a certain place called *Plungeon Field*," then in the several possessions of four persons named, together with two new houses adjoining, for and during the term of the natural life of his wife, and in lieu and in full satisfaction of her dower, of, in, and unto all his real estate; and did also give and devise all and singular other his messuages, burgages, *chapel*, and other his inheritances whatsoever, &c., to his wife for her life; from and after her death unto his brother, Thomas Browne, till William Browne, eldest son of the testator's brother, Reginald Browne, should attain the age of twenty-four years, and then to him. Anne Browne, Reginald Browne, and his son William having died (the last when in possession, leaving only a daughter), the premises, according to the will, became vested in Thomas Browne, the second son of Reginald, who at the time of this act was married, and had a son and a daughter. The preamble further states that the premises so devised "consist of about 31 messuages, cottages, or dwelling-houses, the sites whereof, and the *orchards, gardens*, grounds, and curtilleges thereto belonging, contain about *ten acres*." The preamble thus continues:

And whereas the greatest part of the said houses and tenements are old buildings, and in a decayed condition; and, if the same be not speedily repaired, will become untenanted, and the rents thereof lost; but as the same premises are commodiously situated near the middle of Manchester, a town of great trade and resort, and where the number of buildings and inhabitants are of late years greatly increased, the said Thomas Browne has a fair opportunity, by granting building leases of the premises, to improve his estate, and to secure a better and more certain revenue to him, &c.; but, owing to his son, and the person entitled to the reservation in fee expectant, being both under age, such leases could not be made without the authority of an act of parliament. The act accordingly gives power and authority to Thomas Browne to grant leases not exceeding 99 years absolute, with liberty to pull down and demolish, provided it be with the consent and approbation of John Moss and Samuel Clews, both of Manchester, merchants, and William Shrigley, of Manchester, mercer.

Hollinworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, copies, among other statements of "Campion the Jesuit," one to the effect "that one James Bell, priest, was a prisoner in Manchester, sometimes in an obscure and horrid lake (he means [says Hollinworth] for aught I can learn, a gentleman's house, in or near to the Market Stead Lane, called 'Mr. Radcliffe's of the Pool'), sometimes in another place called 'the New Fleet,'" &c. Pool Fold, evidently named from its being the inclosure round this pool, retained its name till of late years, when it was named anew Cross Street.

The Radcliffes of Ordsall.

THERE are few more interesting architectural relics of the past, in the immediate neighbourhood of Manchester, than Ordsall Hall, with its surrounding moat, crossed by a bridge, giving entrance to the precincts by an embattled gateway, opening into an old green lawn and garden, the buildings stretching along two sides of this greensward. Then inside, the old banquetting hall, with its massive pillars; the oriel window of the long room, "the storied panes" of former days, uttering but unintelligible fragments, in their fractured armorial bearings, and mutilated mottoes and devices; and that beau ideal of a shady room, with its little windows, like octagonal turrets of glass, looking out upon the garden behind. All these yet exist, to tell of the faded grandeur of the days of old, when that hall could send forth its Radcliffes to the councils of king and nation, to the battle field and the crusade; when it saw them ennobled in the ranks of England's peers, only to be shorn of rank and title, of possessions and life together. Attainder scattered the laurels of centuries, and misfortunes have caused the ancient line to perish; while their once well appointed and half fortified mansion still rears its head,—surviving even the wreck of Radcliffe Tower, the original seat of

the family, — and bears upon its front the emblems of the last Radcliffe that made it his home.

From *Domesday Survey* we learn that King Edward [the Confessor, A.D. 1066] held Salford, and held Radeclive as a manor. Ordsall is not named. The first notice that we find of Ordsall is in a deed by which William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, gives to David de Hulton, his land in Flixton and the manor of *Hordeshall*, for homage, and the service of two marks [*i.e.* £1. 6s. 8d.] payable at the four yearly terms, and for the sixth part of a knight's fee. Witnesses: Robert de Lathum, at that time sheriff of Lancashire; Adam de Bury, Geoffrey de Chetham, John de la Mare, William de Clifton, Thomas Maskerell, Richard de Puncherdoun, Robert de Umfrevil, knights; Adam de Blakeburn, Richard de Trafford, Henry de Ryston, Richard de Melver, Alexander de Birches, Robert de Cundelive [Cunliffe], and others. Given at Hecham, the day of the translation of St. Thomas, Martyr [*i.e.* Thomas à Becket, July 7], in the 35th year of the reign of King Henry [III.], son of King John [1251].

From a MS., copied from the original rolls of the tenants in the Duchy of Lancaster, dated 1311, we find that Ranulph de Hulton [formerly] held Ordsall and Flixton, a carucate and a half of land, by the service [rent] of 26s. 8d. per annum, and for the service of one knight's fee. From the same rolls we learn that [1311] "Richard, son of John de Ratcliffe, holds the manor of Urdsale, with the appurtenances, and also three parts of the moiety of the vill of Flixton; a messuage and 60 acres, in the place called 'Le Hope' [between Pseudleton and Eccles]; one messuage and 60 acres called 'Shoresworth'; 100 acres in a place called 'Holinhed.' and in Tockhole; 40 acres in Salford; the bailiffship of Rochdale; and another fourth part of Flixton." All these were held of the king, in chief, by military service; the said manor by the service of 6s. 8d. at the feasts of St. John Baptist and St. Michael; the moiety of Flixton, by the service of 10s. at the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary and the feast of St. John Baptist; and "Le Hope," by £4; the land in Salford, by 20s.; the bailiffship of Rochdale,

by 26s. 8d. at the feast of St. Martin in winter [November 11]; the messuage in Shoresworth, by 2s.; and Tockhole, by 2s.

The above documents show that Ordsall was anciently held by the Earls of Derby, and that it was granted to David de Hulton in July, 1251. It was next held by David's eldest son and heir, Richard de Hulton, of Hulton Park, who had a charter of free warren in his demesne lands of Hulton, Ordeshall, Flixton, and Heaton, 28th July, 32 Edward I. [1304]. This Richard de Hulton married Margery, daughter of Robert de Radclive, of Radclyffe Tower; and hence probably the connection of the Radcliffes with Ordsall. This Richard Hulton's grandson and namesake was lord of Ordsall and Flixton, 4 Edward III. [1330-31].* In the pedigree of Hulton of Hulton, we find no Ranulph or Randle, who it seems held Ordsall prior to 1311; that is, sixty years after David de Hulton had it granted to him, and twenty years prior to this last Richard de Hulton holding it as lord of the manor. Nor can we reconcile this holding by the Hultons with the alleged possession of the manor of Ordsall or Urdsale, by Richard son of John de Radcliffe about 1311. From that period, however, it seems to have been vested in the Radcliffes; for the natural son of this Richard was called Robert Radcliffe, "de Ordsall," and was the first of his name taking this local appellative. He was high sheriff of Lancashire 14 Edward III. [1340-41]. Sir John Radcliffe, de Ordsall, was a knight of the shire in the same year, and died 32 Edward [1358-59]. He may be regarded as the progenitor of the Radcliffes of Ordsall. His eldest son, John Radcliffe, de Ordsall, dying without issue, the second son, Richard (surnamed le Puigné), succeeded; he was steward of Blakeburnshire 28-49 Edward III. [1354-75]; he had livery of his manor of Ordsall in the first year of John, Duke of Lancaster [1361], and was drowned in Rossendale Water 4 Richard II. [1380-81]. He was succeeded by his son and

* By a deed of February 7th, 1333, this Richard Hulton, therein styled "Dominus de Ordissale," grants all his lands in Westhalghton to his uncle, Adam de Hulton. Again, by a deed of April 15th, 1335, William, son of Robert de Radeclive, grants to Adam de Hulton for life, "my park of Hulton," &c., with remainders to Roger, son of Adam, and to Hugh, Roger's brother.

heir, Sir John Radcliffe, knight, who was aged 24 years on the death of his father, and who died 9 Henry V. [1421-22]. His eldest son and namesake, also a knight, succeeded him, and died about 20 Henry VI. [1441-42]. To him succeeded his eldest son, Alexander Radclyffe of Ordshall, ancestor of the Radcliffes of Ordsall, Foxdenton, London, Hitchin, and others. He died 10th July, 15 Edward IV. [1476]. His eldest son and successor was William Radcliffe, of Ordsall, who died 13th Henry VII. [1497-98]. His son John died before him, 12 Henry VII. [1496-97], leaving a son and heir in the person of Sir Alexander Radcliffe, of Ordsall, knt., who died 3 Edward VI. [1549-50]. He was sheriff of the county 1 Edward VI. [1547-48]. His son and heir was William, who died in 1568, succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Alexander; who dying without issue in 1586, was succeeded by his younger brother, Sir John Radclyffe, of Ordsall, knt. In the pedigree in Baines, this Sir John is erroneously stated to have married the daughter and heir of Thomas Ashton. It should be of — Asshawe, of Hall-on-the-Hill, near Chorley. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, died in Ireland fighting against the rebels, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother, Sir John, who was killed in the island of Rhez, in 1627. He married a daughter of Sir John Byron, of Newstead; and their children were Sir Alexander, knt. (who married a natural daughter of the Earl of Sussex, in 1630, and who we believe was the last of the name and family); Mary, Allen, and Ann. Amongst other contributors to the building of Trinity Chapel, Salford, in 1634, was this Sir Alexander Radcliffe, of Ordsall, who gave the large sum for those days of £20. The MS. of Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis* ends in 1656, with an alphabetical list of gentry of the neighbourhood, in which we find Alexander Radcliffe, of Ordshall, knight of the Bath.

We need not further pursue the Radcliffes, who are stated to have "spread into many flourishing branches, as the Radcliffes of Foxdenton, Smithells, Winmarley, Chadderton, Manchester, Todmorden, and Mellor; but suffered a fatal eclipse in the person of the Earl of Derwentwater, and his son Charles Radcliffe, the titular

earl." These, as well as the Earls of Sussex and the Barons Fitzwalter, were of the elder or Radcliffe Tower branch of the family. The arms of the Radcliffes of Ordsall are: Argent, two bends (or bendlets) engrailed sable; over all a label of three points, gules. Crest, a bull's head erased, sable; ducally gorged and chained, sable. Motto: "Caen, Cressie, Calais." These words are commemorative of the gallant services in France of the first Sir John Radcliffe, of Ordsall.

In Barritt's folio MS. volume in the Chetham Library, p. 136, is a "Genealogy of Sir John Radclyffe, Knt., of Ordsall, A.D. 1600 (from a MS. in the possession of Mr. James Cook, attorney in Salford) writ by John Hyde," and which Barritt has transcribed. It agrees mainly with the pedigree of Baines, but in one or two places adds some particulars. For instance, the Sir Alexander who was killed in Ireland, while fighting against the rebels, had some Latin verses written as a funeral ode in his honour, probably by a descendant:

Mercurii consors, Mars Anglus, dextra Minerva
Aula quiq. decus, qui maxime charus Elizæ
Et pelagum toties lustraverat et regiones
Pro meritis equitem quem viderat insula Gades.
Magnus Alexander, dictatus nomine gestis,
Annis ætatis lapsis vix bis duodenis
Pro patria pugnans Hibernos contra tyrannos.
Hei mihi quod bello cecidit Radcliffius heros.

Sanguine vix exlex Hibernia, cordis amore,
Anglia, sed gaudet cœlorum spiritus arce.
Vitam mors vincit, post mortem gloria vivit;
Laudes viventis nam mundi fama sonabit,
Candida Martirii mortem camena beabit,
Premia clarus habet sua sic Radcliffius heros.

Of some of these singular verses we give an almost literal translation:

The great Alexander, named great for his deeds,
Scarcely twice twelve years of his life having elapsed,

Fell, fighting for his country against the Irish tyrants.
Alas for me! Radcliffe the hero, has fallen in battle!

Hibernia lawless scarcely rejoices in his blood;
But Anglia glories in his heart; and his spirit that he is in heaven.
Death conquers life; after death lives glory;
Now the fame of the world will re-echo his living praises.
A glorious song shall consecrate the death of the martyr,
Thus Radcliffe, the renowned hero, has his reward.

The odd and bombastic effect of the original "Radcliffius, heros," cannot be conveyed in any translation. Of Sir William, we have the statement that he wrote his own epitaph (and probably the above verses) which was as follows:

*Sambach cor retinet, servat Mancestria corpus,
Cœlestis mentis regna superna locus.*

That is, that "Sandbach retains his heart, Manchester holds his body, and the realms above are the place of his heavenly mind." The first statement in this epitaph seems borne out by fact; for in the register of Sandbach Church, in 1568, there is an entry of the burial of the heart of Sir William Radcliffe, *knt.*, in these words: "*Cor Willielmi Ratclyffe, militis.*" This attachment to Sandbach may possibly explain the quarterings of the arms with those of Radcliffe. Amongst other statements in this pedigree is one that Sir John Radcliffe, second son and heir of Sir William, of Ordsall, was buried at Manchester [cathedral] in the quire, in the year 1589. Another entry, relating to an earlier period, shows the spreading of this ancient family. "In 1437 there were these Radcliffes, all living in the county: Sir Ralph, of Smethills; Thomas, of Wilmersley [? Winmarley], *Esq.*; John de Radcliffe, of Chadderton, *sen.*, *Esq.*; Sir John Radcliffe, of Ordsall, knight; John Radcliffe, of The Tower [Radcliffe Tower], *Esq.*; and Richard Radcliffe, of [the Pool] Manchester, gentleman."

The Radcliffes seem to have supplied various boroughreeves and constables to Manchester. In the reign of Philip and Mary (1557) William Radclyff was constable; in that of Elizabeth, John Rad-

cliffe was constable in 1569, and boroughreeve in 1574; in which year a William Radcliffe was constable, and again in 1583. In 1590 Thomas Radclyffe was constable, and in 1602 William Radclyffe was boroughreeve. In the reign of James I. Alexander Radcliffe was boroughreeve in 1605; William Radcliffe constable in 1610, and boroughreeve in 1613; Alexander Radcliffe constable in 1614, and boroughreeve in 1618; and William Radcliffe boroughreeve in 1623. In the reign of Charles I. John Radcliffe was boroughreeve in 1638. In the commonwealth, 1652, Richard Radcliffe was boroughreeve; and then the name disappears from the list, never to reappear in the same form. And it was not till 1805 that a John Ratcliffe was appointed constable, and in 1810 boroughreeve of Manchester.

A note in Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis* by its able editor, the Rev. Canon Raines, states that

Ordshall was the seat of Sir John Radcliffe (younger son of Richard Radcliffe, of Radcliffe) in the 31st Edw. I. [1302-3], knight of the shire in the 14th Edw. III. [1340-41], and who died in the 32nd year [1358-59] of the same reign. He married Jennet, daughter of Sir Robert Holland, sister of Thomas, Earl of Kent. His descendant, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, knight, married before 1629, the natural daughter and heiress of Robert Radcliffe, K.G., fifth Earl of Sussex. Sir Alexander was the last of the family who resided at Ordshall. His widow was living in 1668, and his only son John Radcliffe, Esq., dying without male issue (will proved in London 21st July, 1669) the estate was sold; and the line was continued by his uncle, Robert Radcliffe, of Withenshaw, Esq., whose descendant is Robert Radcliffe, of Foxdenton, Esq.

*The Strangways Family of Strangways Hall.**

OF the old families that once filled a large place, and held a high position, in the community of Manchester, there is scarcely one of which so little is recorded as that of Strangways, of Strangways (or, as it was called during the last century of its existence, Strangeways) Hall, the site of which is now covered by the Assize Courts for the hundred of Salford, as its garden and park are to some extent by the new gaol behind the courts. The following are such particulars of the family as we have been able to collect from various sources.

The earliest notices of this family we find amongst the collection of old deeds and documents in the possession of the late Dr. Edward Holme, the first president of the Chetham Society. Of these, brief extracts must suffice :

By an indenture of Friday, in the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, 9 Richard II. (29th September, 1385), Sir John Pondus, captain of Cherburg, and Robert de Dyneley, engage three persons, John, Thomas and Henry de Strangways, Esquires, to enter the king's service for the guard of the donjon of Cherburg, for one year, receiving therefor yearly, John twenty livres [£20], and Thomas and Henry twenty marks [£13. 6s. 8d.] each, to be paid at the end of the year; Sir John finding the three sufficient victuals, fitting for esquires of their condition, for the year. This deed was executed at Guisnes, a small frontier town, in the fields between which and Ardres was held, in 1520, "The Field of the Cloth of Gold."

By a charter of December 31, 10 Henry IV. (1408), James de Prestwich grants to William de Strangways, all his estate in a plot of land, wood and pasture, called "The Knolles," and in a croft which Alexander Barlawhe held of the grantor, in the town of Mamecestre, which the grantor had on the demise of Thomas, Lord la Warre.

Twelve years and a half later, namely in June, 1421, the same

* This article is condensed from three, written in 1850.

Thomas la Warre collegiated the parish church of Manchester, and amongst the names of the parishioners assembled in the church to sanction such collegiation, neither the grantor nor the grantee appear; but instead, a Ralph de Prestwiche and a James Strangeways. There is no Alexander, but instead, a John and a Lawrence de Barlowe. The Knolles was probably the Stony Knolls, Higher Broughton, about a mile from Strangeways Hall; and there is still a Barlow's Croft, in Chapel Street, Salford.

A deed of August 10, 1420, names a tenement of Henry de Strangways, in Market-stidde, Mamecestre.

By a charter of February 2, 37 Henry VI. (1459), Hugo Prowedglove grants to John Strangwais, a parcel of land lying upon the bank of the Irk, within a croft called "Pynggett" [? Pin-gate], 100 feet long by 7 broad; and also a footway 4 feet wide, in the water of the Irk, across from the said croft to another way. The locality seems to have been near a ford across the Irk between Strangeways and Collyhurst.

By a quitclaim of 6th January, 5 Henry VIII. (1514), Roger Cooke releases to Thomas Strangwayes de Strangwayes, the remainder of his term in a messuage and tenement in Mamecestre, between the water of Irwell on the west, the water of Irk on the south, and a field on the north side. This locality was probably near the Walkers' Croft, Strangeways, near the confluence of the Irk and Irwell.

By an indenture of 2nd August, 14 Elizabeth (1572), Thomas Strangweys of Strangweys, gentleman, who had agreed to marry Alice, daughter of John Robinson, of Salford, cloth-worker, covenants to suffer a common recovery of the manor or capital messuage of Strangweys [*i.e.* the Hall and its land], and of various messuages, land, &c., in Strangweyes, Chetam, Rochdale, Spotland, Owdam, Chesden, Manchester, Salford, Wythyngton and Ardewicke, to the use of the said Thomas and his heirs male, with remainder to Philip Strangweys his "second brother," to John his third, and George his fourth brother; then reverting to himself and his right heirs. This deed shows the extensive possessions in real estate of the eldest of the four brothers.

A very long and curious post mortem inquisition (held before Sir Thomas Hesketh, the Queen's Escheator), after the death of this same Thomas, is dated at Bolton, 20th March, 35 Elizabeth (1593), by which it was found that he died on the 18th March, 1590. The jury find that a certain Philip Strangways, grandfather of this Thomas, was seised of various lands, &c., in Manchester, Salford, and Chetham; and that on the 20th May, 1546, he granted these premises by indenture to parties named, in trust for Elinora Strangways and her heirs male by William Strangways; and that Elinora was then surviving and in health, at Strangways Hall; Philip being dead, as well as his son and heir William, her husband. Thomas was the son and heir of William, and he died seised of the capital messuage called "The Strangways Hall," with 200 acres of arable land, 10 acres of woodland, 300 of pasture, 80 of meadow and 50 of moorland, in Strangways and Chetham; with various messuages, lands and tenements, in Manchester, Salford, Rusholme, &c. The jury found that John Strangways is the son and heir of the said Thomas, and that on the day of the inquisition he was of the age of 20 years, 8 months and 20 days. Strangways Hall with its lands, &c., was held of the then Earl of Derby as of his manor of Pilkington, in socage and by the render of four barbed arrows yearly; and was valued by the jury at upwards of £10 yearly, clear of all deductions. Some of the property in Manchester was held by the nominal rent of a peppercorn yearly, and that in Rusholme (which had belonged to the dissolved monastery of Swineshead, Lincolnshire) in socage and by a rent of one pair of gloves yearly. The lands, &c., of Thomas, as specified in the inquisition, seem to include 237 acres arable, 320 pasture, 80 meadow, 50 moorland and 20 woodland, in all 707 acres, exclusive of 10 closes, whose areas are not specified. All this land and 10 closes, a mansion, 7 messuages and 10 cottages, are estimated as of being of the aggregate clear yearly value of only £27. 5s.

The pedigree of the Strangways family is a very obscure and difficult subject. Their original seat seems to have been at Strang-

ways Hall, from which one branch settled in Yorkshire, and two others in Melbury Sampford and in Muston, both in Dorsetshire.* George Strangways of Muston is stated to have been the seventh son of Thomas Strangways of Strangways Hall,† and to have died in 1569. The following, then, is the best array we can make of genealogical facts and of the pedigree of this ancient family :

JOHN, THOMAS and HENRY DE STRANGWAYS, Esquires, took military service for a year, at Cherburg, in 1385.

WILLIAM DE STRANGWAYS, in 1408, had a grant of Le Knolles and Barlawe's Croft.

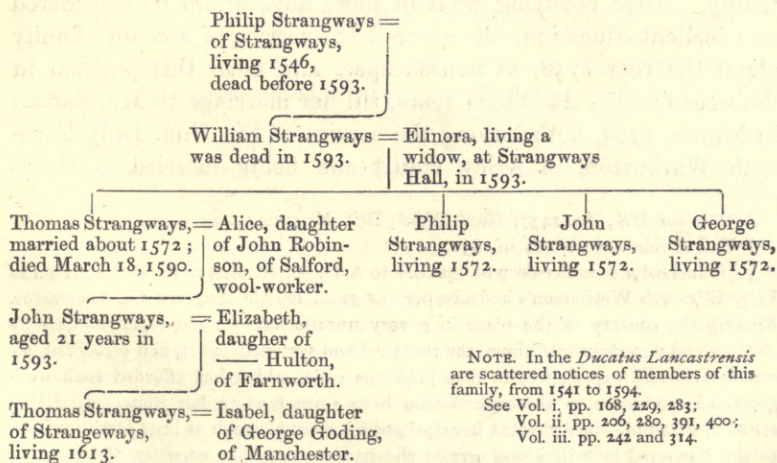
HENRY DE STRANGWAYS, in 1420, had a tenement in the Marketstidde, Manchester.

JAMES STRANGEWEYS, was a parishioner of Manchester in June, 1421.

JOHN STRANGWAIS, in 1459, was a grantee of lands near the Irk.

THOMAS STRANGWAYES DE STRANGWAYES, in 1514, had a quitclaim as to a messuage and tenement near the Walkers' Croft, Strangeways.

We now come to something like a regular pedigree :



* Hutchinson's *Dorsetshire*, vol. i. p. 46.

† Perhaps the Thomas Strangwayes de Strangwayes, who had a quitclaim in 1514.

This last Thomas gave a similar account of the three last descents, at the Heralds' Visitation of Lancashire in 1613.*

Elizabeth Raffald, Publisher of the first Manchester Directory, Cookery Book, &c.†

THE following memoir of Mrs. Raffald, who published the earliest of these useful works, and who was a celebrated and highly respected personage in Manchester about the middle of the last century, is drawn up from information derived from her grand-daughter, Mrs. Hodgkinson, the last of her family on both sides, who lately kept a seminary in Blackfriars Street, Salford, and who very readily communicated to us all she knew respecting her grandmother.

Elizabeth Whitaker, afterwards Mrs. Raffald, was born at Doncaster, in Yorkshire, which had long been the residence of her family. After receiving what in those days would be considered an excellent education, she entered the service of a county family about the year 1748, as housekeeper, and filled this position in different families for fifteen years, till her marriage to Mr. Raffald in March, 1763, both leaving the service of the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Warburton, of Arley Hall,‡ and being married at Great

* *Original MS.*, No. 1437, *Harl. MSS.*, Brit. Museum, p. 25.

† This article was written in 1851.

‡ [Manchester is under deep obligations to Arley for sending to it, in the person of Lady Elizabeth Warburton's housekeeper, its great female lawgiver and benefactor. Finding the cookery of the place in a very unsatisfactory state, regulated only by shifting and uncertain traditions, she reformed and systematized it, and embodied her conceptions and experiences in that judicious code, which has afforded such well-grounded confidence to the experts who have since trod in her steps. In fitting terms of gratitude she dedicated her work, which went through at least forty editions, to the honoured lady in whose service she had acquired the capacity of appearing before the public as their instructress. Taking up with equal energy the female education question, for there was a general complaint that sound and practical elementary

Budworth, Cheshire, when they settled in Manchester, and she commenced business. The family record, in Mr. Raffald's own hand, on the back of the title of a Family Bible, states that "John Raffald married Elizabeth Whitaker, 3rd March, 1763." Then follow nine entries of the birth of as many children, all daughters, six of whom are recorded to have died in infancy. But Mrs. Hodgkinson states that she has often heard her mother say that she was the youngest survivor of a family of sixteen daughters, all born to Mrs. Raffald in eighteen years. A sister of Mrs. Raffald married a Mr. Middlewood; they were flax growers at Howden, and had twelve children, all sons; so, now and then the Yorkshire sister used to send "a few of her lads" to be company for her Manchester sister's "lasses," and Mrs. Raffald used to put them apprentice in Manchester as soon as they reached the proper age.

It is her grand-daughter's belief that Mrs. Raffald, before her marriage, was housekeeper to the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Warburton, and that Mr. Raffald was head gardener to the same lady, and was engaged in laying out the grounds at Warburton or Arley, Cheshire; and hence their acquaintance, courtship, and marriage. Be this as it may, Mr. Raffald was an able botanist, and was celebrated

tuition was a grand desideratum, she established a normal school in Manchester, in which young ladies were admirably grounded in the sterling family duties, as well as the elegant accomplishments which were cultivated at the time. We have seen more than one of the pupils who have sat under her, and finer specimens of the good old English gentlewoman, thoroughly conversant, not merely with the making of pies and puddings, but with all that enters into the character of good wives and good mothers and good Christians, we never saw. We looked upon them, as they were generally looked upon, with reverence. Nor did the labours of this vigorous-minded woman end here. She gave a new impetus to the commerce of Manchester, by doing for the commercial community what they were unable or had neglected to do for themselves. She first, by her well-compiled Directories, gave that information without which trade, emerging into greatness, must labour under considerable disadvantages in its communications and publicity. Still more. The late Mr. Joseph Aston informed us, that but for the aid in money and influence which she afforded, Harrop's paper would have been given up at an early period, and Prescott's would not have been commenced at all. Manchester, in fact, would have been left without a newspaper. If ever, therefore, the city shows its appreciation of female merit by erecting a statue to commemorate it, the first claim is undoubtedly that of Elizabeth Raffald. 1866.]

as a seedsman and florist, in which business his family had hereditarily been engaged in Stockport for two centuries; whilst his accomplished wife was deeply versed in all the arts which, at that period, went to form the housewife's education. She knew not only the culinary art, but also that of the confectioner, and how to make cosmetics, pomades, syrups, pickles, preserves, home-made wines, &c. At first, we believe, Mrs. Raffald kept a confectioner's shop, at the corner of Exchange Alley, and her husband with his brothers had a florist and seedman's stall in the Market Place. That Mrs. Raffald occupied this confectioner's shop as late as 1769, is clear from the title-page of the first edition of her cookery book, where her occupation and address are stated. Probably a short time afterwards, or it may have been during the same period, Mr. and Mrs. Raffald took the Bull's Head inn, in the Market Place, which they occupied many years; Mrs. Raffald being the chief manager, and it is supposed that it was in that house that all her children were born. When her three eldest children were little girls, they attracted no small attention at that time in walking out, each child in a clean white frock, with a nurse walking behind — for there was a nurse to each girl.

At a later period, in the King's Head, Salford, the following scene occurred between Mrs. Raffald, in her capacity of author, and Mr. R. Baldwin, the well-known publisher, of Paternoster Row, London, who it is said made a large sum by her celebrated work on cookery, entitled *The Experienced English Housekeeper*. Her "sanctum" was a comfortable little bar, enclosed by glass on three sides, where she sat to give her orders, and to receive applications, and where she compiled her books. When the servants came for instructions, especially as to dinner, &c., she always gave them neatly written orders; and if she wished to give them directions, she put them in writing, and sent a messenger with them up or down stairs, as the case might be. Her nephew, Joshua Middlewood (who died recently at the age of 93), when a boy of eleven, was on a visit to her from Yorkshire, when a gentleman came into the bar on business. The boy was leaving the place,

when Mrs. Raffald called him back, saying: "My dear, don't go; it is only Mr. Baldwin, from London, who is come about the copyright of my book." The boy accordingly remained, and saw Mr. Baldwin hand over to Mrs. Raffald a large roll of bank notes, which it was stated amounted to £1,400; that being in fact the sum which Mrs. Raffald received for the copyright of her work on cookery. Joshua Middlewood recollected in after years that when Mr. Baldwin had handed the notes to Mrs. Raffald, he observed to her that there were several terms in the book which were in general use in the north, but which he was sure would not be understood in the south; and he therefore respectfully asked her permission to be allowed to alter them. Mrs. Raffald, who is described as a fine, dignified, lady-like woman, of high bearing and carriage, and with a considerable spice of pride, drew herself up, as was her wont when her dignity was ruffled, and said with a marked emphasis: "What I have written I proposed to write at the time; it was written deliberately, and I cannot admit of any alteration." She was reserved in her manners, and kept in her own room; not mixing or talking much with her guests; and she was highly thought of by the Manchester ladies of that day. At that time Manchester possessed neither infantry nor cavalry barracks, and the officers of regiments stationed here had their mess-table at the Bull's Head, and on her removal to the King's Head, Salford, the "mess" removed thither also. Besides, her supervision of the inn, and her compilation of her works, the *Housekeeper* and *The Manchester Directory*, left her no leisure in which to make acquaintances or to see much company. She was a good French scholar, and in short, was an extraordinary woman, of great and varied acquirements, much industry and perseverance, and a strong will. She was very kind to the poor, and had many pensioners on her bounty, who almost daily received cold victuals, cast-off clothing, &c., at her hands.

As a proof of her high spirit and strong will, we may narrate a little ghost story. She and her sister Mrs. Middlewood had some house property in Doncaster, which came to them by inheritance

from their father; and one large house could not keep a tenant, having got the reputation of being haunted. The story was that "at the witching hour of night" a female apparition rushed into one of the chambers, drew the bed curtains, and shook some parchments in the face of the scared occupant of the bed. As the sisters were deprived of a considerable yearly sum by this evil reputation of the house, and as they had been told that if any one could muster courage enough to address the ghostly visitant, with a certain scriptural adjuration, it would disappear, and no more trouble this sublunary sphere, they determined to pass a night together, without any male protector, in the haunted house. Accordingly they awaited the hour in the haunted chamber, and as recorded by the testimony of Mrs. Munday (the youngest surviving daughter of Mrs. Raffald, and mother of Mrs. Hodgkinson), there was some apparition, suddenly visible to both, with its crackling of parchment deeds and rolls, and flashing, glancing motion. Mrs. Raffald managed to stammer out, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, who art thou? Whence comest thou? What wantest thou?"; but they could not finish the adjuration from fright; and the ghost disappeared with an extra crackling of parchments, but without answering their inquiries. The sisters always believed that if they could have proceeded to the end of the formulary, they should have extorted some utterance from the ghost. But their purpose was answered; the ghost was laid; the property was let; and the matter was almost forgotten in the enlightenment of another generation, when it became necessary to take down the house, and then, near the foundations, some human bones were found; which it is conjectured may have been the remains of the poor murdered ghost, and thus have caused its restless spirit to revisit "the pale glimpses of the moon."

Another manifestation of her shrewdness and tact was shown in the management of her husband. During her compilation of the *Housekeeper*, and her admirable discharge of the duties of one in the best-frequented house in Manchester of that day, she was

much annoyed and harassed by her husband, who, after yielding to intemperance, was frequented "hypped," and like Mantalini, would talk of making away with himself. One day, after keeping his bed till noon, he came down stairs into the glass-bar, querulously complained of being tired of his life, and said he would go and drown himself. Roused by his unmanly conduct, Mrs. Raffald replied: "Well, I'll tell you what, John Raffald; I do think it would be the best step you could take; for then you would be relieved from all your troubles and anxieties, and you really do harass me very much." From that time Mr. Raffald never repeated his determination to commit suicide. He was a very handsome, gentlemanly, intelligent man, about six feet in height; but was then contracting habits of intemperance, which were Mrs. Raffald's chief domestic trouble.

After living some years as we have said at the Bull's Head, Market Place, Mrs. Raffald took the King's Head inn, Salford, which still retains its original sign, though since her time it has undergone very extensive alterations. In her occupation it included the whole range of buildings, part of which is now a hat shop; there were extensive ranges of stabling, coach-houses, and other outbuildings, a sort of ride, &c. Under her régime the King's Head was less an ordinary inn than a sort of superior hotel, especially for foreigners, who could communicate with their landlady through the French language, and who found better accommodation, a French *cuisine*, and other comforts which attracted them. Her grand-daughter supposes that having left the Bull's Head, whither foreign buyers and travellers had resorted, her wish to make her new house known to her old customers and their foreign friends on their arrival in Manchester, led her to resolve on compiling and publishing the first *Manchester Directory*. In Salford, as in Manchester, she became a sort of Lady Bountiful to the poor, giving them food, clothing, and occasionally simple medicines, or nourishing broth, wine, &c.

We now come to notice some circumstances attending the death of Mrs. Raffald. She had three daughters, Emma and two others,

of whom Anna, the youngest surviving child, was one, who were at a boarding school at Barton-upon-Irwell. When Anna was about eleven and a quarter years of age, the three girls and others were taking exercise in a field attached to the school; the two eldest romping with others, but Anna sat on a gate, watching a bright April moon, and exclaiming: "Oh, what a beautiful moon! see how it runs through the clouds! now it's dark, and now it's light again. I wonder whether dear mamma sees that beautiful moon." Just then a man servant from the school ran hastily into the field, and called repeatedly, "Miss Raffalds, you're to come in directly." Anna wondered whether she had done anything amiss to cause her recall, and having satisfied herself that she had duly put on her bonnet and shawl, she thought all was right, and disregarded the summons which her sisters obeyed. On seeing this the man came to her and said, "Miss Anna, the vehicle's come to take you to Manchester; your mamma's poorly." They went to Manchester; found that their mother had expired some hours before; and they returned no more to school. Mrs. Raffald died of spasms, after only an hour's illness, on the 19th April, 1781, at 5-27 p.m. Her remains were deposited on the 23rd April, about seven o'clock in the morning, at Stockport Old Church, in the burial place where the Raffalds had been interred for two centuries and a half; her funeral being a stylish one for those days. She had been a wife about eighteen years and six weeks, and in that time had borne sixteen children, all daughters, of whom only three, it is believed, survived her.

Her widower, shortly after becoming possessed of the handsome little competency which she had accumulated, went to London, "lived a very gay life" for some years, spent all he had,* and

* [The following interesting advertisements, taken from Harrop's *Mercury*, would lead us very strongly to the conclusion that at the time of Mrs. Raffald's death, accelerated in all probability by the anxiety she experienced from the irregular and improvident habits of her husband, Mr. Raffald was deeply embarrassed in his circumstances, and that the property left by his wife was swallowed up in relieving him from the debts he had contracted.

Harrop of Tuesday, April 24, 1781.

"Tuesday [19th April], died, lamented by a numerous acquaintance, Mrs. Raffald,

returned to Manchester with a second wife, a poor, illiterate creature, who was usually called "Molly" in the family. He was a fine, aristocratic looking man, well-informed, even learned it is said, and his knowledge of botany and floriculture was in that day considered marvellous. From his return to Manchester he became reformed in conduct and joined the Wesleyan Methodists, and attended their chapels for the last thirty years; but strangely enough, combined with other pursuits the study of astrology for the last twenty years of his life, and even "ruled the planets," not publicly or for gain, but solely for his own private amusement; but he refused to teach this knowledge to his youngest daughter, Anna, telling her that it would do her no good, and intimating his regret that he had ever studied it. After he was eighty he wrote a beautiful small hand; and as he advanced in years he received much substantial aid and kindness from gentlemen of the town, who had known him in his earlier and palmier days. Amongst others a Mr. Bury, a timber merchant, one day made

wife of Mr. John Raffald, Master of the Exchange Coffee House, in this town, authoress of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, which has rapidly run through no less than seven editions, and compiler of *The Manchester Directory*."

Harrop, May 1, 1781.

"To be Let, and entered on immediately, the Exchange Coffee House, now in full trade, and situated in the Market Place, Manchester. For further particulars enquire of Mr. Raffald, the present tenant, who is declining the public business."

Harrop, Tuesday, May 22, 1781.

"Manchester, May 12, 1781.

"Whereas, John Raffald, of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, Vintner, hath assigned over all his estate and effects to James Fitchet, of Liverpool, in the said county, Liquor Merchant; Hugh Adamson, of the same place, Brewer; John Jones, of Manchester aforesaid, Chinaman; and Richard Tunnadine, of the same place, Gentleman; in trust for the general benefit of the Creditors of the said John Raffald, who shall execute the said Deed of Assignment on or before the 12th day of August next, &c.

ALSO WILL BE SOLD,

All the Household Goods and Furniture belonging to the said John Raffald, and now being in the Dwelling-house late in his possession, situated in the Market Place, in Manchester aforesaid, known by the name of the Exchange Coffee House; together with the said John Raffald's interest therein, being for the term of 12 years or thereabouts. Further particulars on applying to Tunnadine." 1866.]

him a singular gift. Pointing to some well-seasoned boards which had been in his timber yard for ten or twelve years, he told Mr. Raffald that he should have those boards for his coffin. He continued to live in Salford, being for the last seven years of his life confined to his room, where he amused himself by writing much, but on what subjects we could not learn. He died at the age of 89 years, and was interred in the grave-yard of Trinity Chapel, Salford. He had two brothers, James (?) and George, who were gardeners and seedsmen, and kept the only seed shop in Manchester at that day, at the bottom of Smithy Door, on the side next Deansgate, and nearly opposite the shop of Mr. Brereton, the druggist. They had also a stall in the Market Place, opposite the old Post Office; and one day, when the wife of one of the brothers was attending the stall, she was accosted by a poor woman, who asked the price of a fine cucumber. Satisfied that the woman could not afford to buy such a luxury, she rather curtly named its price, 7s. 6d.; and the woman went away dejected. About an hour afterwards she was again at the stall, hanging about, and at length she again asked the price of the cucumber. Somewhat annoyed at being thus teased a second time by the same person, the stallkeeper answered her angrily, "Why, woman, I told you before." Again the poor woman was creeping away, when Mrs. Raffald seeing that she was *enceinte*, at once understood the matter, called her back, gave her the longed-for dainty, and dismissed her, amidst expressions of the most fervent gratitude.

There is something so curious in these bits of family history, that we are tempted into the collateral narrative of that of James Raffald, the brother of John, who lived in a large, detached and terraced house of his own, close by the Salford Poor-house, Green-gate, or Broughton Road, Salford. And here let us say, that it was not from our Raffalds, but from a totally distinct one, spelling their name differently, that Ravald Street, Salford, derives its name. It is not a little remarkable, however, that the gardens of a Raffald and a Ravald should be contiguous. James Raffald had very extensive gardens in Salford, on ground now wholly

covered by streets and buildings. These gardens are said to have extended from his house near the workhouse and from Garden Lane (and Paradise Street), all along the southerly side of Greengate, as far as the Gravel Lane; including the sites of the present King Street, Queen Street, Bury Street, &c. Garden Lane divided these gardens, which were what are called nursery gardens or florist's gardens, from the private garden of Mr. Ravald, of Salford. Two events occurred in this family, to which this Mr. Raffald attributed his own declining fortunes in the latter period of his life. He had a servant man who lived in his house. At that time, banks not being general, every man was to some extent his own banker; and Mr. Raffald was wont to conceal his cash by putting it at the bottom of a sack, and then filling the sack with peas or beans. His favourite man-servant having discovered this expedient, one day possessed himself of the money, and absconded with a hundred guineas from the bottom of a sack of peas. He was pursued, apprehended, tried, and it is believed hung; and this event, besides preying on Mr. Raffald's spirits, led him to believe that it had brought evil fortune on his whole future life; and he was wont to say: "Never bring any one to justice; for we never did well afterwards." They had only one son, and one day, in the nursery gardens, he said to his father, "I'll go to sea, father." Mr. Raffald, in his rage, snatched up a spade, and said, "I'll cut you down, if you tell me that." However, the young man, who was their only child, did go off to sea, and was drowned; and a tradition current in the family was that his apparition was seen by his mother, as if standing on the opposite side of the stall in the Market Place, which was opposite the then Post-office, and in front of the shop now occupied by Messrs. Richardson and Roebuck, grocers. This appearance was seen by the unhappy mother about mid-day, or one o'clock in the afternoon, and excited great alarm for his safety. From the intelligence subsequently received, it was ascertained that on that very day and hour the youth was drowned. However, the poor father never looked up again; he died; his widow became old, infirm, and somewhat imbecile; and

the parochial authorities of Salford, having arrived at the conclusion that she ought not to be left alone, removed her into the poor-house; and as there was no direct heir, they took her house, which stood so near the poor-house that there was only just space enough for a cart to pass between the two, and appropriated it to their own use or benefit, or rather to that of the poor. She had a private room in the poor-house, and was taken care of till she died, some twelve or eighteen months after her removal thither; and then what remaining property she had was taken care of too.

This James Raffald and his brother George were gardeners and seedsmen at Stockport also, where the family had been seated as florists for two centuries, and where George lived and accumulated some property. He was very charitable, and every Sunday he sent dinners to aged, poor and infirm people of his neighbourhood. He was also, though irascible, "swearing and tearing," much respected for his integrity and hospitality. His son, also named George Raffald, pursued his father's business; and having made a present to the town of a part of a field belonging to himself, over which they wished to make a highway, they offered him in return the then valuable privilege of erecting a public-house in Millgate, Stockport. He accordingly built the Arden Arms, bottom corner of Millgate, Stockport (being the corner plot of the land taken by the township), where he amassed a considerable sum, died about six or seven years ago, leaving £30,000; and the house is still kept by his second wife, Mary Raffald, who possesses a copy of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, and a portrait of the Mrs. Raffald. The old family vault is situated near the gate leading out of the churchyard, contiguous to Mr. Smith's school, and midway between the steps and Churchgate. It is now held by Mr. Samuel Massey, who married a daughter of the late Mr. George Raffald. His widow, Mrs. Mary Ann Raffald, possesses the eighth edition of the *Housekeeper*, obtained by the Stockport family from Elizabeth Raffald herself. Mrs. Raffald, the widow, maintains the high character of the Arden Arms, and the hereditary benevolence of its founder and his son, and is much respected in Stockport and its neighbourhood.

We have mentioned that Mrs. Raffald had a sister married to a Mr. Middlewood. One of their sons, Joshua Middlewood, was perfumer to the King of Hanover; his residence was Duval Cottage, Hornsey, London. This cottage was so named from having been the abode of the notorious highwayman, Duval; and when Mr. Middlewood occupied it, the secret doors remained which afforded Duval his means of private exit and entrance to the cottage. It was further guarded against surprise by being surrounded by a moat, with drawbridge, and when this was up, it was scarcely possible to approach the house without warning its owner. This Joshua Middlewood died about three years ago, in his 93rd year, and his son and family now occupy Duval Cottage. His brother, James Middlewood, died last August at Liverpool, in his 88th year. He was in great repute in the last and beginning of the present century, for a botanical oil for the hair which he prepared, and which had a great sale. He lived many years in Smithy Door, near the bottom, opposite Mr. Brereton, the druggist, and near Mr. Winder, the celebrated stay-maker. This was forty or fifty years ago, and he removed from Smithy Door to a shop in the Square, three doors from the *Courier* office, where he lived many years, and then retired to Liverpool. He had married a niece of the Rev. Mr. Blacow, of St. Mark's, Liverpool, who, it will be remembered, was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, we believe two years in the King's Bench, for a libel on Queen Caroline. Mr. Blacow died some years ago. His congregation, wishing to present him with some mark of respect, proposed to have his portrait painted and placed in the vestry of St. Mark's; but he said if it was to be a testimonial they must give it to him unconditionally. The portrait was painted by an able artist, who received one hundred guineas, and it remained some years in the possession of Mr. Blacow, but by his will he bequeathed it to Mrs. Joshua Middlewood. This portrait is now at Duval Cottage.

We next come to another sister of Mrs. Raffald, who was never married, — Mary Whitaker. She was a "pastry-cook," and occupied the corner shop by the church gates, round the corner of

Hanging Ditch, not far from, and nearly opposite to, the shop of Mr. George Swindells, the letter-press printer. Her premises had then a thatched roof. After the death of her sister, Mrs. Raffald, she took the youngest daughter, Anna, and brought her up to the business, and she was very useful in assisting her aunt. The shop was the resort of many respectable persons; amongst others the Rev. Joshua Brookes, then chaplain of the Collegiate Church, used frequently to drop in and take his jelly there. He was very friendly with Mrs. Whitaker, and used to call her niece, Anna Raffald, his child. We have seen the will of Mrs. Whitaker, dated 7th April, 1789 [she died in June, 1795], in which she bequeaths all her property, goods and chattels, to "my niece, Anna Raffald, daughter of John Raffald, late of Manchester, but now of Salford, gardener;" and to this will Mr. George Swindells was a witness. Anna Raffald lived with her aunt, and remained unmarried until a year after her death. The aunt and niece took apprentice-pupils, for three years, receiving with each a premium of £50, to learn the art and mystery of the pastry-cook, and they generally had three such apprenticed pupils. Mr. Thomas Munday (of the firm of Thweat, Galley and Munday, of No. 1, Blue Boar Court, Manchester, and No. 5, Bread Street, London, manufacturers of muslins, dimities, gingham, &c.) paid his addresses to Anna Raffald, and they were married at Eccles on the 13th August, 1796. The Rev. Joshua Brookes, from a fatherly regard to Anna Raffald, insisted on her being married a second time, as she was then a parishioner of Manchester, and had been married out of the parish, and it might affect the rights of her children. To satisfy him Mr. Munday reluctantly consented to be re-married, observing that he thought once was quite enough; and they were re-married by Joshua Brookes at the Old Church, on the 16th October, 1796, just two months and four days after they were married at Eccles.

We have mentioned Mr. Munday's firm, and we have seen one of their invoices, dated August 27, 1799, containing a few prices of articles. We omit the quantities: 6-4 calico stripes at 18s. 6d. per piece; 6-4 calico spots at 21s. 3d. per piece; 6-4 tambours

at 2os. 6d.; calico at 13d. and 13½d. per yard, one piece 31s. 6d.; 4-4 tambours at 13s. 6d. The head of the firm, Mr. Thweat, had a singular end. Having one day at dinner eaten heartily of cucumber, he was passing through the kitchen to the garden, when he saw a bowl of milk on the dresser. Being thirsty, he drank freely of the milk, and in an hour after was a corpse.

Of the marriage of Mr. Munday with Anna Raffald was born Mary Whitaker Munday, our informant, so named after her mother's aunt. It is a matter of regret that we had not made our inquiries twelve months earlier, when Mrs. Munday was still living: for she was very attentive to and saw much of her father, John Raffald, during the last twenty or thirty years of his life, and had a remarkable memory for the events of fifty or sixty years ago. Her daughter, Mrs. Hodgkinson, being educated at a distance, was not directly so well acquainted with the events connected with the life of her grandmother, Mrs. Raffald, and derives her chief knowledge of them from her mother, Mrs. Munday, who was born 8th January, 1770, and died in February, 1851, so that she was in her 82nd year. She was interred in Trinity Chapel-yard, Salford, in the same grave with her husband and her aunt Whitaker. The gravestone is nearly opposite the vestry window, and has the following inscription: "Here lieth the body of Mary Whitaker, who died June 6th, 1795, aged 75 years. Also, Thomas Munday, who died September 23rd, 1825, aged 52 years." At the foot of the stone is the name of the purchaser of the grave, "Anna Munday."

MRS. RAFFALD'S WORK ON COOKERY.

Having given a biographical sketch of Mrs. Raffald, we now come to a notice of her great work on cookery, &c. We have already stated that when she first published this work she kept a confectioner's shop at the Old Exchange Alley corner. [We believe she also lived in Smithy Door.] While there she was in the habit of receiving as pupils, paying handsome premiums, the daughters of the principal local families; they attended the *cuisine*

of the establishment, and received lessons in cookery, confectionary, &c. They were taught how to pluck poultry, to skin hares, &c., no less than how to cook them afterwards, and to carve them when placed on the table. Another department of her business was to superintend the culinary and other arrangements for public dinners and private entertainments; and she was quite celebrated for getting up a first-rate dinner. Private dinner parties were then frequent and large, in proportion to the extent of the town and its inhabitants; for it was then the residence of numerous collateral branches of the county families, as well as of the rapidly rising and multiplying mercantile population.

There has been some question whether Mrs. Glass or Mrs. Raffald first published a book on cookery, and the same story is told of both — “First catch your hare,” &c. Watts’s *Bibliotheca Britannia* sets this question at rest. The first edition of Mrs. Raffald’s *Experienced English Housekeeper* was published at Manchester in 1769 (just six years after her marriage); while Mrs. H. Glass’s *Servants’ Directory, or Housekeeper’s Companion*, was published in London in 1760 (price 5s.); so that Mrs. Glass would seem to have the priority by nine years. We now proceed to give an account of the first edition of Mrs. Raffald’s book.

1st Edition, 1769.—“The Experienced English Housekeeper, for the Use and Ease of Ladies, Housekeepers, Cooks, &c. written purely from practice; dedicated to the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Warburton, whom the author lately served as housekeeper. Consisting of near 800 original receipts, most of which [have] never appeared in print. . . . By Elizabeth Raffald. Manchester: Printed by J. Harrop, for the author, and sold by Messrs. Fletcher and Anderson, in St. Paul’s Churchyard, London; and by Elizabeth Raffald, confectioner, near the Exchange, Manchester, 1769. The book to be signed by the author’s own handwriting, and entered at Stationers’ Hall.” [And the book accordingly bears her autograph, “Eliz: Raffald,” at the head of the first chapter, in a large, firm hand, indicative of decision of character.] No edition during her life has a frontispiece portrait. The dedication expresses the author’s

ambition to obtain Lady Elizabeth Warburton's approbation, "as much as to oblige a great number of my friends, who are well acquainted with the practice I have had in the art of cookery, ever since I left your ladyship's family, and [who] have often solicited me to publish for the instruction of their housekeepers." In the preface to the first edition, the author asks the public, as the "only favour" she solicits, to try some one receipt before they censure her work; which is written from her own experience, "and not borrowed from any other author, nor glossed over with hard names, or words of high style, but wrote in my own plain language, and every sheet carefully perused as it came from the press, having had an opportunity of having it printed by a neighbour [Mr. Harrop], whom I can rely on doing it the strictest justice, without the least alteration." She thanks her "most noble and worthy friends" for raising her so large a subscription list for the work, and adds:

I have not only been honoured by having above eight hundred of their names inserted in my subscription, but also have had all their interests in this laborious undertaking, which I have at last arrived to the happiness of completing, though at the expense of my health, by being too studious, and giving too close application. It has been my chiefest care to write in as plain a style as possible, so as to be understood by the weakest capacity. I am not afraid of being called extravagant, if my reader does not think that I have erred on the frugal hand. The receipts for the confectionery are such as I daily sell in my own shop, which any lady may examine at pleasure, as I still continue my best endeavours to give satisfaction to all who may please to favour me with their custom.

It may be necessary to inform my readers that I have spent fifteen years in great and worthy families, in the capacity of a housekeeper, and had an opportunity of travelling with them; but finding the common servants generally so ignorant in dressing meat, and a good cook so hard to be met with, put me upon studying the art of cookery more than perhaps I otherwise should have done; always endeavouring to join economy with neatness; being sensible what valuable qualifications these are in the housekeeper or cook; for of what use is their skill, if they put their master or lady to an immoderate expense in dressing a dinner for a small company, when at the

same time a prudent manager would have dressed twice the number of dishes for a much greater company at half the cost. The number of receipts in this book is not so numerous as in some others; but they are what will be found useful and sufficient for any gentleman's family. Neither have I meddled with physical receipts; leaving them to the physician's superior judgment, whose proper province they are.

The book is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of cookery generally; the second of confectionery; and how "to set out a table in the most elegant manner:" and the third comprises pickling, potting and collaring; wines, vinegars, catchups and distilling; "with two most valuable receipts, one for refining malt liquors, the other for curing acid wines; and a correct list of every thing in season for every month in the year."

The work is in chapters, of which chap. 1 is on soups, and chap. 2 on fish, including a recipe for dressing a turtle of a cwt.; in which the author explains that the meat growing to the bottom shell is the "callipee, or fowl," the flesh in the back shell is the "callipash," and "the fat, which looks green, is called the monsieur." For a top and bottom dish and four corner dishes, all of turtle, she requires for the bottom dish three bottles of Madeira, four quarts of strong veal gravy, &c.; for the top dish a pint of Madeira; and for the corner dishes a pint of Madeira and a glass of red wine. For a turtle of this weight, the gravy will take "two legs of veal and two shanks of beef." There are various ways to cook lampreys, and "a receipt to pot lobsters, which cost ten guineas." Chap. 3 relates to roasting and boiling, and in a recipe to roast ruffs or rees, the author says, "These birds I never met with but in Lincolnshire." Cayenne (pepper) is always spelt in conformity with the prevailing pronunciation of that period, "Chyan." Chap. 4 treats of made dishes. Amongst other recipes in this division of the work, are "to make a mock hare of a beast's heart;" and "pigeons transmogrified." Chap. 5 treats of pies, and includes a Yorkshire goose pie, a salmon pie, a thatched house pie, a codling pie, a herb pie for Lent, a lobster pie, a Yorkshire giblet pie, tansey fritters, gofers, tansey and pink-coloured pancakes, &c.

Chap. 6 relates to puddings, including orange, calf's-foot, apricot, three or four sorts of tansey, citron, green codlin, marrow, quaking, Yorkshire yam and barm puddings, raspberry, damson, and sparrow dumplings, &c.

Part II. Chap. 7 treats of decorations for a table; how to spin gold and silver webs, to make gum paste and artificial flowers, divers jellies, flummery, blanc mange, a fishpond, a hen's nest, gilded fish, a hen and chickens in jelly, a dessert, a floating and a rocky island, "to make moonshine," Solomon's temple in flummery; cribbage cards in ditto, a dish of snow, and how to make a syllabub under the cow. Chap. 8. Preserving, contains divers recipes for jellies, jams and preserves, marmalades, bullace cheese, elder rob, &c. Chap. 9. Drying and candying, gives recipes for various fruit pastes, violet cakes, to candy ginger, angelica, &c.; to make lemon, peppermint, currant drops, and to boil sugar candy-height. Chap. 10. Creams, custards and cheesecakes, includes in the first, pistachio, chocolate, Spanish, ice, clotted, hartshorn, ribbon, lemon, steeple, burnt, la Pompadour, tea, King William's cream, and "snow and cream, a pretty supper dish;" an apple floating island, fairy butter, orange crumpets, curd puffs, egg-cheese, a loaf royal and a drunken loaf, fried toast, &c. Chap. 11. Cakes, begins with brides cake, and includes ratifia, Shrewsbury, Bath and Prussian cakes; Barbadoes jumballs, cracknells, "light whigs," chocolate puffs, pickets [pikelets], &c.* Chap. 12. "Little savory dishes," include salmagundi, smelts and crawfish in savory jelly, macaroni with Parmesan cheese, an amulet of asparagus, and a ramequin of cheese.

Part III. Chap. 13. Potting and collaring, includes cold porcupine of beef, soused turkey, ditto tripe, &c. Chap. 14. Possets, gruel, &c., includes in the first sack, brandy, lemon, almond, wine,

* Though we find no recipe for making Eccles cakes, we are assured that Mrs. Raffald was the author of that delicious cate. A worthy female servant leaving her, and going to settle at Eccles, Mrs. Raffald made her a present of the recipe for this dainty, which made the recipient's fortune, and that of her niece, who succeeded her in the business,—many thousands having, we are told, been realised by this sweet little monopoly.

and ale possets; mulled wine and ale, beef tea, white wine, cream of tartar whey, groat gruel, sago with milk; sweet panada, and chocolate. Chap. 15. Wines, catchup and vinegar, includes the usual made wines, elder, raisin, pearl gooseberry, sycamore, birch, walnut and balm wines; to make stum, to cure a hogshead of sour ale, to make sack mead, ozyat [orgeat], shrub, sherbet, a catchup to keep seven years, &c. Chap. 16. Pickling, includes mangoes, codlings, samphire, barberries, nasturtium berries, radish pods, grapes, picalillo or Indian pickle, and an imitation of Indian bamboe. Chap. 17. On keeping garden stuff and fruit, begins by stating that "the art of keeping garden stuff is to keep it in dry places," "but not warm." Chap. 18. Distilling, includes caudle water, milk water, hephnatic water, and spirits of wine. Then comes a list of everything in season in every month in the year, in fish, meat, poultry, roots and vegetables, and fruit. Amongst the roots, &c., we find scorzonera, skirrets, salsifie, rocombole, borecole, tragopogon, burnet, cardoons, hyssop, purslane, finocha, chervel, chardbeets, &c. Amongst the fruits, services, medlars, "masculine," lazoroles, quinces, black and white bullace, &c. Then come "Directions for a grand dinner," which the author prefaces by saying that

January being a month when entertainments are most used, and most wanted, from that motive I have drawn my dinner at that season of the year. . . . Finding I could not express myself to be understood by young housekeepers, in placing the dishes upon the table, obliged me to have two copper-plates, as I am very unwilling to leave even the weakest capacity in the dark.

The first plate represents the first course, viz.: Top, transparent soup (fish remove); bottom, hare soup (remove, haunch of venison); centre, mock turtle; corners, pigeons comport, fricasseed chickens, florentine of rabbit, and ducks à la mode. Other middle dishes: Pork griskins and house lamb, harricôt and beef olives. Side dishes: Lambs' ears forced, codsounds, like little turkey, larded oysters, and ox palates. Vegetables: Kidney beans, brocoli, &c., bottled peas, and salad.—Second course: Top, pheasant;

bottom, roast hare; centre, transparent pudding, covered with a silver web; corners, snowballs, moonshine, rocky island, and burned cream. Other middle dishes: Mince pies, creerant with hot pippins, crawfish in savoury jelly, and snipes in ditto. Side dishes: Pickled smelts, marble veal, collared pig, and potted lamprey. Vegetables, &c.: Stewed cardoons, pompadour cream, macaroni, and stewed mushrooms. Such was a stylish dinner in the middle of the last century. The author does not give a third course, but adds directions for a dessert, &c. The whole forms a very curious and characteristic volume.


The Hon. Lady Elizabeth Warburton, in whose service Mrs. Raffald lived till her marriage, and to whom she dedicated her book, was the eldest daughter of Edward Stanley, eleventh Earl of Derby (by his wife Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Robert Hes-keth, Esq., of Rufford), and aunt of Edward the twelfth Earl. She married, in March, 1746, Sir Peter Warburton, of Warburton and Arley, Bart., who is said to have been a great cock-fighter. The issue of this marriage was a son and heir, Sir Peter (born October 27th, 1754, and died May 14th, 1813, s.p.), and five daughters: Elizabeth, born March 1st, 1746-7, ob. February 5th, 1760; Ann, born July 28th, 1748, ob. unmarried, December 27th, 1769; Margaret, born August 22nd, 1753, ob. unmarried in 1817; Harriot, born February 18th, 1758, married J. R. Legh, Esq., of Prestbury, and had issue; and Emma, youngest sister and co-heiress, born May 10th, 1759, married James Croxton, of Notley, by whom she had Emma, who married Rowland Egerton, clerk, B.A., seventh son of Philip Egerton, Esq., who assumed the name of Warburton, by sign manual. His son,* great-nephew of Sir Peter Warburton, inherited under Sir Peter's will the manor of Warburton and other estates. The Hon. Lady Elizabeth Warburton, Mrs. Raffald's mistress, died in September, 1780.

To return to *The Experienced English Housekeeper*. There were no fewer than *thirteen* regular and authorised editions. The first,

* [The present R. E. E. Warburton, Esq., the accomplished author of the admirable *Hunting Songs of Cheshire*. 1866.]

and probably the second (of which we have hitherto been unable to see a copy) were printed and published in Manchester for the author. Then came over Mr. Baldwin, and purchased the copy-right of the book for £1,400, as narrated in the biographical sketch; and the third and every succeeding copyright edition has his name on the title-page as the publisher. We shall first notice these genuine editions, in regular order, and afterwards those which were pirated and spurious. The second edition contained an Appendix, with about one hundred additional receipts.

3rd Edition, 1773. — This is the next edition after the first that we have seen. The “near 800” original receipts have been increased to “near 900;” and the title states this is “the 3rd edition, with three copper-plates [three diagrams on one plate] of a curious new invented fire stove, wherein any common fuel may be burnt instead of charcoal, and two plans of a grand table of seven covers. London: Printed for the author, and sold by R. Baldwin, No. 47, in Paternoster Row, 1773. N.B. No book is genuine but what is signed by the author.” And accordingly the author’s autograph, “Eliz: Raffald,” is placed at the head of chapter 1. At the end of the preface is the following:

 The encouragement this book has met with, has enabled the author to print a third edition within the short space of four years; in which the Appendix to the second edition has been blended with the original work.

After the two plans, a receipt “to make Hanover cake or pudding” is printed as “omitted in the course of the work.” Prefixed to the receipts is a plate with two engraved diagrams, elevations “for three stove fires for a kitchen, that will burn coals or embers instead of charcoal, and will carry off the smoke of the coals and steam, and smell of the pots and stewpans. The coals are burned in cast-iron pots, flat at the bottom, with bars.”

5th Edition, 1776. — The fifth edition has no frontispiece portrait; but is signed at the head of the first chapter, “Eliz: Raffald.”

6th Edition, 1778. — The next edition is the sixth, which has

little if any variation from the fifth edition. It will be seen that the fifth and sixth editions were published within two years, and that the first five editions appeared in seven years — a clear indication of the great popularity of the work. The name is signed at the head of the first chapter. This edition has no frontispiece portrait; but it has the two engraved plates exhibiting two courses for a “grand table,” already described. From the practice of the author authenticating the work with her own signature, it is probable that already there were pirated editions in print. At the end of the volume we find a list of “useful and entertaining books,” published for Baldwin, the first being *Hoyle's Games*, the fifteenth edition, price 3s., neatly bound in red leather. “Be pleased to observe that all genuine copies are signed by Edmund Hoyle; and all others are pirated or a bad edition.”

7th Edition, 1780. — This edition, 8vo, contains the autograph, but no portrait, and is very similar to the preceding one. It shows the steady demand for the book, that from 1769 to 1776 (seven years) five editions should have been issued; and the three consecutive editions, the fifth, sixth and seventh, were published at intervals of two years, viz., in 1776, 1778 and 1780.

8th Edition, 1782. — In the biographical sketch we stated that Mrs. Raffald died in April, 1781; and in this edition, the first genuine and authentic one published after her death, we find the new features of a frontispiece portrait (which she would never have permitted in her lifetime); the words in the title-page, “with an engraved head of the author;” and instead of her signature, a metal stamp fac-simile is used at the head of the first chapter of the book. The portrait is a large oval medallion, surmounted by a bow of ribbon. It is a half-length, with three-quarter face; the right cheek next the spectator. The features are good, the character lady-like, with marks of decision and firmness about the lips; the forehead high and broad. The head dressed *en toupée*, with an elaborate lace cap, tying under the chin. A kerchief covers the neck; the low-waisted gown is edged with fine lace; the stomacher has three bows; the short sleeves, coming just below

the elbows, have double ruffles of lace. This costly decoration is said to have occupied her eldest daughter, Emma, nearly two years in working, when at school. From the engraving itself, which has the name "Elizabeth Raffald" beneath the medallion, and the words "P. M'Morland, delt." we learn that Mr. M'Morland was the artist who took her likeness; which was "published as the act directs, by R. Baldwin, July 31st, 1782." We have not seen any copy of the next edition, the ninth, which was probably printed in the year 1784.

10th Edition, 1786.—For this edition a wholly new portrait was engraved, which, however, bears upon it the words "published as the act directs, by R. Baldwin, July 31st, 1782." It is a copy of that of 1782, but the medallion is reduced in size from five and a half inches to three and a half inches, greatest diameter, and is placed upon a pannel of masonry five and three-quarter inches by three and a half inches, the name being inscribed upon a frieze of an ornamental entablature beneath the medallion. Like the portrait of 1782 (of which it is a good copy, but reduced in size), the author is represented as holding her book in her right hand, so that it projects outside the medallion towards the spectator.

11th Edition, 1794.—Either a larger impression than usual had been printed in 1786, or the demand for the work had somewhat abated, as there is an interval of eight years between the tenth and eleventh editions. The first conjecture is strengthened by the appearance of the plate, which has lost all the sharpness it shows in the tenth edition, and is quite worn in the eleventh.

12th Edition, 1799.—This has the portrait in oval medallion in the centre of masonry, purporting to be engraved in 1782, the fac-simile name at the head of the first chapter, and to the original work "are now first added a few family receipts for the cure of ague, consumption, asthma, and some other complaints." This is greatly at variance with the author's wishes as expressed in the preface to the first edition, where she distinctly states that she has not "meddled with physical receipts, leaving them to the physician's superior judgment, whose proper province they are."

13th Edition, 1806. — This edition was printed by “C. and R. Baldwin, printers, New Bridge-street, London.” The head of the first chapter has the metal cut fac-simile of the author’s signature stamped on the page, for the pirated editions having a spurious portrait, this mode was chosen to authenticate the book as the genuine article; much as the signature of a compounder of some specific is given in fac-simile on the stamp of a quack — (we beg pardon) — patent medicine; “without which (we are authoritatively assured) none is genuine.”

We now come to the pirated editions, published by various persons during the copyright of Baldwin, and the lifetime of Mrs. Raffald; and to these we may add all the editions by other publishers than Baldwin since the expiry of the copyright. One distinguishing mark of all such editions is that instead of specifying any particular edition by number, as the seventh, the tenth, they all contain in the title-page the words, “A new edition.” Another mark of these illegitimate publications is the sham portrait which is placed as the frontispiece, bearing no resemblance to the original engraving from M’Morland’s portrait of the author.

1787. The first of these spurious editions that we have seen was published at London in this year. The “900 original receipts” is altered to “several hundred;” and this is called “A new edition, in which are inserted some celebrated receipts by other modern authors. London: Printed for A. Millar, W. Law, and R. Cater, 1787.” This edition possesses a frontispiece portrait of Mrs. Raffald, fronting the title. It is an oval medallion copperplate engraving: the plate is very slightly engraved, and the engraving poor as a work of art.

1794. The next 8vo edition is called “A new edition, in which are inserted some celebrated receipts by other modern authors. London: Printed for the booksellers, 1794;” and it is evidently a pirated edition, for we can find no printer’s name. The copy we have examined has apparently lost the frontispiece. It has also lost the dedication and preface, and has only one of the plates for a grand dinner, that of the first course.

1794. All the editions hitherto described, whether genuine or spurious, of Manchester or London, are large 8vo; but this is 12mo. It seems to be a reprint of the London edition of 1787, the following being the only variations of the title: "London: Printed for W. Osborne and T. Griffin, 1794." It does not appear to have had a frontispiece portrait; but in other respects it is a verbatim copy of the former edition.

1798. The next edition (large 8vo) is termed a new one, "to which is added a Treatise on Brewing. Manchester: Printed by G. Bancks, 1798." It has a different portrait from that already noticed; apparently copied from it, but the engraver has omitted the lace edging, &c. and the face is not by any means so striking. The treatise on the art of brewing seems for the most part a reprint of Cole. A part of it is "A Treatise on Porter," in which the writer states that "there are very few families whose expenses in porter may not be rated at three pots per day; allowing an extra pot every tenth day, it will come to very near nine barrels per year. Nine barrels paid for at the public-house, cost 18 guineas, and nine barrels of the same quality, strength, &c., as porter might be produced, excluding time and trouble, for £6. 7s. 11½d.; leaving to the economical brewer of his own porter, a clear profit of £12. 10s.: very near 12 guineas, and almost two-thirds of the whole expense." The author gives a "candid and open statement of the articles used in porter," with the average cost of each, and it certainly is curious. Omitting the prices, it consists of one quarter of malt, 8 lb. hops, 9 lb. treacle, 8 lb. liquorice root, 8 lb. essentia bina [sugar boiled till bitter and black], 8 lb. colour [also moist sugar boiled], ½ oz. capsicum, 2 oz. Spanish liquorice, 1½ oz. coculus indicus, 2 drachms salt of tartar, ¼ oz. heading [half alum and half copperas in powder, to make the head or froth], 3 oz. ginger, 4 oz. slacked lime, 1 oz. linseed, and 2 drachms cinnamon. Such is the recipe for nine barrels of porter, which the author admits contains various articles prohibited by law [he might have added deleterious and poisonous], but without which, he affirms from experience, he could never

produce the present flavoured porter. We hope no one will be disposed to try this pernicious concoction.

No date. We must place here another edition, without date, of the same publisher, and evidently a reprint of that just noticed, but 12mo. instead of 8vo. It has in addition "The complete art of carving and marketing," not written by Mrs. Raffald, and the imprint is "G. Bancks, printer, 10, Exchange-street." Between the "grand dinner" and the index are interpolated "Directions for carving joints of meat, poultry, game, &c." and "Directions for marketing, respecting the purchase of different sorts of provisions. Two engravings to the former illustrate the mode of carving by lines along the various roast and boiled joints, pigs, fish, game and poultry.

1799. The next edition we have seen is of a large 8vo. size; and like the London one of 1787, it is "printed for A. Miller, W. Law, and R. Carter. Anno 1799." This edition also possesses the spurious portrait, apparently printed from the same plate. From the copy of this edition that we have seen, the plate has been detached, framed and glazed, and is now in the possession of Mrs. Hodgkinson.

1800. It is possible that the copyright having by this time expired, the book was reprinted as a speculation generally for the trade. The person who seems to have done this most extensively was Henry Mozley, formerly of Lincoln, afterwards of Derby; who seems to have printed four editions at the former, and at least three at the latter place. The first of these is called a "new edition;" and the imprint runs: "London: Published for the booksellers; and printed and sold by H. and G. Mozley, Market Place, Gainsborough. 1800." The portrait represents a plump, dairy-maid looking person, very different from the stately lady of the genuine, or even of the older unauthorised editions.

1803. This is another edition of the same printers, or rather of one of them; the portrait is the same as in that of 1800, and the imprint is as follows: "London: Published for the booksellers;

and printed and sold by H. Mozley, Market Place, Gainsborough. 1803."

In the same year we find another "new edition," printed at York, of which the imprint is: "London: Published and sold by all the booksellers, and by T. Wilson and R. Spence, printers, High Ousegate, York. Anno 1803." And at the end of the volume we find "Printed at the office of T. Wilson and R. Spence, High Ousegate, York." The frontispiece to this volume is a bad copy of that of the 11th genuine edition, differing from it in the name on the entablature, being "Mrs." instead of "Elizabeth" Raffald. The engravers are "Hampston, Prince, and Cattles, York."

1807. We have been informed (but have not seen the book) that Dean, the printer of Manchester, published an edition of the work in 1807, which contained a frontispiece portrait of Mrs. Raffald. We have also heard of another edition by another Manchester printer.

1808. This is another of the free editions. It is 12mo. with portrait, and the imprint is: "London: Printed for J. Brambles, A. Meggitt, and J. Waters; by H. Mozley, Gainsborough. 1808."

1814. A still later Gainsborough edition has come under observation, a 12mo. volume. "London: Printed for J. Brambles, A. Meggitt, and J. Waters, by H. Mozley, Gainsborough. 1814." The frontispiece, instead of the portrait of Mrs. Raffald, has been copied from some picture of "Dead Game"; representing a larder, on the floor of which are cod, salmon, trout, soles, lobsters, &c.; on a table a surloin of beef, hare, a pheasant, and a trussed turkey; and suspended from the ceiling are a leg of mutton, a brace of partridges and a brace of snipe. It is curious that this edition, published 45 years after the first, should retain the dedication, and the preface to the first edition, including Mrs. Raffald's reference to her neighbour Harrop as the printer; also the plate of three stove fires at the beginning, and the first course plate at the end of the volume.

1821. We have already noticed four editions of the work,

(1800, 1803, 1808, and 1814,) printed and published by Henry Mozley, Gainsborough. We have another before us, 12mo. of which the imprint is "Derby: Printed by and for Henry Mozley. 1821." This contains the plates of the kitchen-stove at the beginning, and the first and second courses at the end of the volume, with the "Dead Game" frontispiece, as in the 1814 edition.

1825. This is another edition by the same printer, "Derby: Printed and published by Henry Mozley, Brook-street; and sold by George Cowie and Co., 31, Poultry, London. 1825." The frontispiece is changed. Instead of the old indifferent copperplate, we have a spirited effective wood-cut ("O. Jewitt, Driffild") in blue-black ink, representing a greater variety of the subjects and raw material of the culinary art, including, besides flesh, fish, and fowl, a pie, a plum pudding, and jars of preserves and pickles on the shelves, a pendant string of onions; the whole surmounted by a basket of fruit; and in a festooned drapery at the foot, "Mrs. Raffald's Cookery." Here the two engravings of a first and a second course are placed at the beginning of the book.

1834. Mr. Mozley continued at Derby that extensive printing for the booksellers which he commenced at Gainsborough, and which has made the name of his firm so well known throughout the kingdom. Between 1825 and 1834, he had taken his sons into partnership, and of this 12mo. edition the imprint is "Derby: Printed and published by Henry Mozley and Sons; and sold by Cowie and Co., Poultry, London. 1834." This contains the plates of first and second course, at the commencement of the volume after the preface; but has no frontispiece portrait or plate of the kitchen-stove fires. In fact it is quite modernised, and is the pleasantest print, and in the most compact form, of any edition that we have seen.

Of the thirteen genuine editions of the work, probably the first and second were printed by Harrop, Manchester; the third and all subsequent ones by R. Baldwin, London, who had purchased the copyright. We have seen the following:

1st, Manchester	1769	8th, London.....	1782
2nd,		9th, „	
3rd, London	1773	10th, „	1786
4th, „		11th, „	1794
5th, „	1776	12th, „	1799
6th, „	1778	13th, „	1806
7th, „	1780		

Mozley's editions were (Gainsbro') of 1800, 1803, 1808, 1814; and (Derby) of 1821, 1825, and 1834. A. Miller, W. Law, and R. Cater, London, published four editions, in 1787, 1795, 1797, and 1799. An anonymous London edition, "printed for the booksellers," appeared in 1794. W. Osbourne and T. Griffin, London, published a 12mo. edition in 1794. G. Bancks, of Manchester, published an 8vo. edition in 1798, and two 12mo. editions without date. Dean, of Manchester, published an edition in 1807; and there was an edition published by Wilson and Spence, of York, in 1803.

Our inquiries, and the kindness of various parties in lending us their copies of the work (of which we have received nearly fifty, some from a distance, as Bury, Altrincham, Knutsford, Worsley, &c.) have enabled us to form some general idea of the immense extent of popularity which this culinary code has possessed from its first appearance to the present time. No fewer than thirteen authorised and genuine editions in thirty-seven years, and as many as twenty-three other editions, in all thirty-six editions, many of them clearly pirated and spurious imitations of the copyright editions, testify to the demand for, and profitable sale of, this long-celebrated standard work. Mrs. Hodgkinson says she has been told that "*The Experienced English Housekeeper*" went through eight editions in as many years, and that some of the later editions specified on the title page how many thousand copies had been sold. These statements are neither of them strictly correct. The eighth edition, of 1782, appeared thirteen years after the first. No edition that we have seen contains on its title page the number of copies which had been sold. But be this as it may, there seems

strong reason to believe that no other cookery book ever had so great and general a sale ; and Mrs. Hodgkinson can recollect, when a girl, that young married ladies would say, "I've got Mrs. Raffald's book, and I would not be without it for a good deal. I don't think I could have got up a dinner without it."

As to Mrs. Raffald's *Manchester Directory*, she first published it (as we have already stated) in 1772, three years after her book on cookery, at which time she was landlady of the King's Head, Salford. She also wrote a book on midwifery, under the able guidance and superintendence of Mr. Charles White, the celebrated surgeon, who resided in King Street, on the site of the present Town Hall. This, we believe was her latest literary labour ; it was nearly completed, but was left unfinished at her death. It is believed that the MS. was subsequently disposed of by her widower, when he went to London, where he spent all that she had accumulated. We have been unable to ascertain whether it was ever printed ; but if so, we believe it did not appear as her work, but would probably have some other name attached to it, perhaps of some celebrated and deceased accoucheur. The compilation of three such books as a work on the whole range of cookery and confectionery ; a directory, the first ever published of Manchester ; and a work on midwifery, affords ample proof that Mrs. Raffald was an extraordinary person, and deserves to have her name rescued, however imperfectly, from oblivion, and to be recorded as one of our Manchester authors and worthies of the eighteenth century. The influence she exercised in her own day, in securing the attention to the duties of a good housewife, and in including the culinary art amongst the homely and useful accomplishments of the young ladies of an extensive district, it is scarcely possible to overrate.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MANCHESTER PERSONS AND PLACES.

UNDER this title we propose to bring together not only some printed notices of Manchester, scattered in scarce books, but also the recollections of aged persons of their boyhood and youth, spent in Manchester, and of their middle-age acquaintance with its residents, places and institutions. Several of these were communicated to the present editor in letters; one or two he himself noted down from the lips of octogenarian and nonagenarian narrators, — men of clear intellect and sound memory, in a “green old age.” In this way have been preserved these recorded memorials of men and things that must otherwise have speedily passed into oblivion. Originally published during several years in the columns of a newspaper — *The Manchester Guardian* — they are now first presented in a collected series and a more permanent form.

*Recollections of a Nonagenarian.**

THE personal reminiscences of those who in the decline of years preserve, even to a very advanced age, a clear and vigorous memory and understanding, have about them a peculiar charm. It is not only that they are sometimes the only deposi-

* The editor is permitted to state that the nonagenarian from whose narration he recorded the facts in this article was the late George Morewood, Esq., who resided during the last years of his long life at Thornbridge, near Bakewell. The writer met him during a visit he paid to his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. James McConnel, of Bent Hill, Prestwich, near Manchester, about a year before his death, which took place on the 16th March, 1854, in the 91st year of his age.

tories of many things which have escaped the Argus eyes of the periodical press, or other faithful chroniclers of the time ; but there is an impress of individuality about their relations which the best history cannot always realise. The writer of this article had recently (1853) the pleasure of introduction to a gentleman, who, from all external appearance, from the clear view he retained of the days of his boyhood, and from his healthy complexion, cheerful flow of conversation, vigorous health and erect carriage, would be generally supposed to be somewhere between sixty and seventy years of age, but who is in his ninetieth year. His recollections of Manchester would doubtless have been much more full and interesting had he resided here all his life ; but what are now to be noted are simply his reminiscences of his school days, and a year or two afterwards ; as he left Manchester when about nineteen, and has since chiefly resided in London, the last thirteen years in Derbyshire. Mr. G. M. states that his father removed from Derbyshire to Pendleton in the year 1755, and resided there and in Salford till the year 1787.

Our informant was born in Salford on the 27th October, 1763. After the midsummer vacation of 1771 he entered the Manchester Free Grammar School,* and continued to attend it till the Christmas of 1780, a period of nine years and a half. It is to this school that his recollections seem to return with such vivid power. His entrance was into the lower school, an under part of the school building, in which the first rudiments of learning were taught, and out of which a class of proficients yearly ascended into what was called the middle school. The middle and higher schools were then conducted (as indeed up to the time of his leaving) in one long room, into which he entered after the Christmas recess of 1772. At this time the upper and middle schools were under the direction of Mr. Lawson, as high master ; Mr. Darby, second master ; and Mr. Jackson, as assistant ; the lower school under the care of Mr. Samuel Jackson, a relation, it is believed, of the assistant master of that name. During the time Mr. M. was at

* [See his name in the *Manchester School Register*, vol. i. p. 182. 1866.]

the school, the management and training of eight classes, containing altogether two hundred boys, was found too onerous for three masters, and a fourth was consequently appointed. He remembers, also, Mr. Thomas Bancroft, Mr. James Pedley, and Mr. Joshua Brookes, as severally employed in this duty of second and assistant master; the number of masters, however, never exceeding four at one time. During Mr. M.'s stay in the lower school it was rebuilt, and for a time its scholars were taught in a triangular room in that end of Chetham's Hospital, or the "College," as it is still popularly called, next to the Grammar School.

Mr. M.'s impression of Mr. Lawson is, that if not a profound scholar, he was generally correct; and he thinks that his most striking characteristic was a strong love of justice, and great impartiality in all his dealings with the boys. Hence, as well as for other good qualities, although a severe master, he was much liked by the boys generally, and by some of the seniors respected and beloved. Not so Mr. Darby, who appears to have been by no means highly qualified by scholastic attainments for the responsible position he then occupied in the school; and he certainly failed to win the affections or command the respect of the boys. Both Mr. Lawson and Mr. Darby had boarders in their houses, and Mr. M. thinks that twenty guineas a year was the sum paid to Mr. Lawson for each boarder. When high master he almost always dined with his boarders; and Mr. M. mentions it as a curious instance of his impartiality, even in trifling things, that the parents of the boarders occasionally making presents of game to Mr. Lawson, he divided it fairly amongst the boys at the table (where he presided) in succession, as far as it would go; and on the next occasion of game being on the table, he was scrupulous in continuing its distribution from the point where, perhaps weeks before, a former dealing of the delicacy had stopped.

Before quitting Mr. Lawson, we may here introduce a more remote reminiscence of his pedagogic rule, derived from a different quarter. We mean a speech, which was composed by Mr. Robert Thyer (a gentleman well remembered by Mr. M.), who was

librarian of Chetham's Library, and editor of Butler's *Remains*, and which was recited in the Manchester Free Grammar School, by one of the boys, when Mr. Parr, of Liverpool, was there, at a time when Mr. Lawson was second master. He was elected second master in July, 1749, and on the death of Mr. Parnell, succeeded to the high mastership on the 21st April, 1764, having received his degree of M.A. in 1753; and, after filling the high master's chair for about forty-two years, died on the 19th April, 1806, in the 79th year of his age. The following speech, which contains strong evidence of the severity of Mr. Lawson's rule, would be delivered between the years 1749-64 :

"Pudore et liberalitate liberos retinere satius esse credo,
quam metu."

Permit me, sir, under the protection of this privileged season, to address myself to you on a subject in which we are both equally concerned, and accept a few gentle hints in return for the many broad ones you favour us with during the rest of the year. If the Spartans allowed their slaves once a year the liberty of saying what they pleased, I flatter myself that a claim of the same indulgence may be pardoned in a British schoolboy. The use, sir, that I would make of this freedom is to recommend to your attention the sentiment couched in my motto, that liberality and an application to our sense of shame is of more force in the education of boys, than moroseness and the terrors of authority. Among the Romans the very word school signified a place of diversion, and he that presided was only the "ludi magister," the regulator or manager of the sport; indeed, the delicacy of a genius is something like that of a sensitive plant, which in proper warmth and soil freely expands and spreads its leaves; but, touched by a rude hand, shrinks and shuts itself up. To understand an author, you tell us, sir, we should read in the spirit in which he wrote: how, then, can you expect the manly genius of an Ovid or a Tully from the labours of a sour, domineering, flogging pedagogue. Pardon me, sir, if, upon so feeling a subject, the warmth of imagination has carried me beyond the limits of decency. Liberty that is seldom allowed is too often abused; but the very abuse of it will, in this instance, in some measure, atone for itself, by showing that our slavery is not of the harshest kind, and that a king to whom his subjects dare remonstrate is not the worst of tyrants. The Lacedæmonians were

wont at this jovial season to burn the rod ; how happy should I be could my arguments prevail upon you, sir, to banish it, that, like a second Brutus, I might be the founder of the liberties of my fellow-subjects. If this be too much to hope, suspend, at least, the penal laws for a season, and let these gentlemen who now honour us with their company be judges another year of the difference between compositions which smell of the birch and those which flow from a mind unterrified, easy, and happy.

To return to our nonagenarian's recollections : In his time the Manchester Free Grammar School was opened for business at seven in the morning. He went all weathers, and at that time umbrellas were not ; his great coat was seldom worn ; and in wet weather he just ran to and from school in the rain. During the nine years and a half he was at the Grammar School he was never absent save on two days, one from illness, and the other when attending his mother's funeral in 1772.

It was then the annual custom of the school, on Shrove [or Pancake] Tuesday, for the boys to shoot with bows and arrows for prizes. Certainly the three first days of Shrovetide, perhaps all the working days of the week, were then kept as a holiday ; and on the Tuesday, perhaps about ten o'clock in the morning, the lads, then about two hundred in number, assembled in a field on the banks of the Irk ; crossing the river over a footbridge by a steep declivity from Long Millgate, the field being a little higher up the river than the bridge. Seven of the eight classes into which the whole school was then divided, shot separately for a prize ; that awarded to each of the four upper classes being shoe buckles of differing values, the higher the class the greater the value of the prize ; in these classes the lads shot at banners or targets. The top class, instead of shooting before dinner, raffled after dinner, for their prize. Mr. M. had the fortune to win this prize in his last school year, when, of course he was in the top class ; and it being then a custom (as still in many places, especially at weddings) to throw an old shoe after a person "to bring good luck," this shoe was thrown after Mr. M. by a servant of his father, on the morning of the day on which he won the prize ; though what it had to

do with his success he cannot say. The four lower classes, in the early school days of our informant, shot with bows and arrows at living cocks, which were so placed in holes in the ground covered with turf, that the head and part of the neck of the bird only were visible above the turf. The boys shot in succession, at the distance of perhaps thirty yards, at the exposed head and neck of the poor bird, and he who first "drew blood" had the cock for his prize. On one occasion Mr. M. shot and to his belief wounded the bird; but failed to get the prize, because no blood was immediately visible. The boy who followed him, and whose arrow seemed to Mr. M. to go wide of the mark, was declared victor, as blood was first discovered after his shot. This practice of shooting at a living cock was however discontinued, Mr. M. is pretty sure, in the second year of his attendance there, which would be in the year 1772-3; a banner or target being substituted as the mark; but a cock was still the prize awarded to the victor, he who came nearest the bull's eye being declared the winner. During these sports the head master (Mr. Lawson) and the other masters were present. The same day (Shrove Tuesday) an annual feast regularly followed at the Bull's Head, in the Market Place, then an open space between the site of the present Exchange and Blue Boar Court. It was at that time kept (and Mr. M. thinks during all his school term) by Mr. Richard Alsop, and was then the head inn in the town; the Spread Eagle in Hanging Ditch being, as he thinks, the second. Each boy had to contribute a certain sum towards the cost of this dinner; but more might be, and often was, given towards the feast. Mr. Lawson acted as treasurer, received the subscriptions, and probably ordered and arranged the dinner. He always presided on these occasions. One dish at this annual feast was invariably veal cutlets; this delicacy was the last placed on the table, and was a great favourite with the boys.

Before referring to any of Mr. M.'s reminiscences outside the school, we may notice that as to the custom of shooting at a cock at Shrovetide, it seems to have been one in ancient use. In a manuscript of the fourteenth century there is a delineation of an

archer shooting at an apparently living cock standing on a sort of perch, the arrow transfixing the bird. Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, alludes to the practice of throwing at cocks; which was a very popular diversion among the youth of former days. Sir Thomas More, who wrote in the sixteenth century, speaks of his skill as a boy in casting a cok-stele (that is a stick or cudgel to throw at a cock). Steele, in *The Tatler*, No. 134, Feb. 1709, reprobates this inhuman custom. It was universally practised on Shrove Tuesday; but early in the present century this barbarous custom was suppressed by the magistrates. Heath, in his *Account of the Scilly Islands* (London, 1750), speaking of St. Mary's, says that "on Shrove Tuesday each year, after the throwing at cocks is over, the boys of this island have a custom of throwing stones in the evening against the doors of the dwellers' houses," unless pancake-money be given them to purchase exemption. William Fitz-Stephen, in his description of London, of the time of Henry II. (1157-89), says that on the morning of Shrove Tuesday, in the city of London and other cities and great towns, the schoolboys bring cocks of the game [game-cocks] to their masters, and are permitted to delight themselves in cock-fighting all the forenoon; the school being the cock-pit, and the master the director of the pastime. Stow also notices the custom, which prevailed in London and also in Rome. Moresin states that the Catholics derived this custom of exhibiting cock-fights on one day in every year from the Athenians, and from an institution of Themistocles. At Athens cock-fighting was an institution partly political, partly religious — (Socrates sacrificed a cock to Æsculapius) — and was thought to foster courage in youth; but degenerated into an amusement; was borrowed from the Greeks by the Romans, who trained both cocks and quails for fighting; and it is probable was introduced into Britain by the Romans, though the bird itself was here before Cæsar's arrival. Cock-fighting has been a favourite sport of several English kings, especially James I. It was prohibited by an act of Oliver Cromwell in 1654. This custom was retained in many schools in Scotland, even within the present century. The school-

masters presided at the battle, and claimed the runaway cocks as their perquisites. These were called "fugees," probably a corruption of "refugees." In one of Hogarth's prints, called "The Four Stages of Cruelty," a boy is throwing at a cock, which the painter's commentator characterises as a universal Shrovetide amusement. We have cited authorities sufficient to prove the universality of the custom, and its prevalence in schools on Shrove Tuesday. It will, therefore, cause no surprise to find among the original statutes of the Manchester Free Grammar School of 1515, one rule:

That every schoolmaster and usher, for ever, from time to time, shall teach freely and indifferently [*i.e.* without distinction or favour], every child and scholar coming to the same school, without any money or other reward taking therefor, as cock-penny, victor-penny, potation-penny, or any other, whatsoever it be, except only his said stipend or wage, hereafter specified.

The "cock-penny" was paid by the scholars to the master for permission to fight cocks, or to throw or shoot at cocks, on Shrove Tuesday. The "victor-penny" was paid by the scholar who had won the greatest number of battles, or whose cock, after being thrown at, had escaped unhurt. This fee was received by the master for his leave to the payer to ride as victor. He was carried about on a pole by his companions; he held the cock in his hands, and was followed by other boys in his procession, bearing flags, &c. The "potation penny" was paid by the scholars to their master, to enable him to give an entertainment at some season of the year (usually in Lent) to the scholars on quitting school. In some places this is still customary in grammar schools, and is called "the drinking;" but, in consequence of its frequency and abuse in many schools, it fell into disrepute, and became like the other "pennies" forbidden and discontinued. In all probability this was the true origin of the yearly feast at the Bull's Head, above described by Mr. M. Another of the original statutes of the school was levelled at the practices of cock-fighting and throwing at cocks:

The scholars of the same school shall use no cock-fights, nor other unlawful games, and riding about for victors, or other disports had in these parts; which be to the great let [hindrance] of learning and virtue, and to the charge and cost of the scholars and their friends.

As by these statutes cock-fighting and throwing at cocks were expressly interdicted, one can easily see how an old custom was slightly changed, the law evaded, and another enactment complied with, by simply substituting bows and arrows for cock-steles or sticks, and shooting for throwing at cocks. An act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. amongst other things commanded that fathers and guardians should teach male children the use of the long-bow, and to have at all times provided for them, as soon as they arrived at the age of seven years, a bow and two arrows; and masters were ordered to find bows for their apprentices, and to compel them to learn to shoot with them on holidays, and at every other convenient time. With these several facts before us, it is not difficult to see how the shooting of cocks with bow and arrow on Shrove Tuesday originated at the Manchester Free Grammar School, and we have been the more particular in our details, inasmuch as we have never seen this before explained.

From this digression, which, however, is all explanatory of what has gone before, we return to our nonagenarian's recollections of his boyish days. He well remembers that Colonel John Drinkwater (who took the surname of Bethune), the historian of the siege of Gibraltar, was his class-mate; as were the two sons of Charles White, the eminent surgeon. On one occasion Mr. M., his brother, and the two Whites, Thomas and Charles, went to bathe in the Irwell, accompanied by other schoolfellows, on which unhappy occasion the younger White was drowned, to the great consternation of the boys, and the great grief of his gifted father. The other brother, Thomas, lived, and, as will be remembered by surviving fellow-townsmen, he took up, and practised in, his respected father's profession for many years. Another schoolfellow was the Rev. Streyunsham Master, M.A., rector of Croston, who still sur-

vives, and in his patriarchal age sees a son and a grandson of his own amongst the clergy of the Church of England.

Outside the school, young M., then attired in quaint coat, shorts and knee buckles, remembers well the Old Exchange, its removal, the substitution of a high pebble pavement in its place (about the site of the present central lamp, at the foot of Market Street), where the merchants then assembled; trees growing on one side of St. Ann's Square; the ducking-stool suspended over the Daub Holes or Infirmary Pond; and thence to Ardwick no houses, this suburb being then a distinct village, a mile from the suburbs of Manchester; and "Mr. Hyde's great house" was the subject of admiration to the schoolboy, as he passed Ardwick Green, on his periodical vacation visits to Derbyshire. He remembers, what very few can do, the time when neither Manchester nor Salford possessed a single cotton mill; he recollects the first being built about the year 1783, in Miller Street, where the public baths and washhouses now stand. He also remembers the time when he believes only three private carriages were kept in what are now the two boroughs of Manchester and Salford; and of these the two kept in Manchester were professional, viz., those of Mr. Charles White, then usually called "Dr. White;" and of Dr. Percival. The third was, strictly speaking, the only private carriage, and it was kept by "Madam Massey," who resided in Salford. What a contrast to the present time! About seventy years afterwards, viz., in 1850, there were in the municipal boroughs of Manchester and Salford six hundred and thirty-nine four-wheel, and three hundred and seventy two-wheel private carriages; together one thousand and nine; besides sixty-four omnibuses and short-stage coaches; and one hundred and eighty-seven cabs and coaches; and since 1850 these numbers, especially private carriages and omnibuses, have been very considerably increased. Mr. M. remembers the late Dr. Barnes, one of whose arms, he says, was short, as if shrunk by some disease or accident. Of course he also recollects the Rev. Joshua Brookes, who was disliked by the boys he taught, and was once discomfited by them at the door of

the school. This eccentric clergyman's father, who was a cobbler and a cripple, was a great swearer, and most vituperative to any who offended him. Mr. M. after leaving Manchester, resided many years in London, and there the alumni of the Manchester Free Grammar School had for a long period an annual dinner, usually presided over by the late John Latham, Esq., M.D. We believe this annual dinner is now discontinued. Of Mr. M.'s contemporaries at the Manchester Free Grammar School, it is believed only two or three survive; one we have already named, the Rev. Streynsham Master, M.A., Rector of Croston, &c.; another is Mr. Waltham, now a neighbour of Mr. M. Here we must close these Manchester reminiscences of a nonagenarian.

*Newton Heath Eighty Years ago.**

WE have received the following interesting communication relative to Newton Heath, an ancient chapelry three miles north-east of Manchester, and now indeed one of the outskirts of the town, and therefore of a purely local character.

The following has been derived from the recollection of an old inhabitant, in his 87th year, and at the present time of excellent memory: Newton Heath, remarkable for its healthy locality, and the longevity of its inhabitants, is bounded on the north by the township of Moston, on the south by Clayton and Bradford, on the east by Failsworth, and on the west by the parish of Manchester. On the north is a rapid stream which divides Newton from Moston, along a deep valley; on the south the river Medlock divides Newton from Clayton. At the period to which our informant's memory extends, Newton consisted but of very few houses, and a small number of inhabitants; and the roads across Newton, if roads they might be called, were almost impassable.

* [This article was written in 1852; and refers to a period about 1772.]

The staple employment consisted of a little check or cotton weaving, crofting or bleaching, and in a solitary instance that of silk weaving. The locality of "Crown Point" consisted of one house, occupied by Robert Boardman. This house was in such a dilapidated state that Boardman left it in consequence; and I can well remember, one Sunday morning, some unlucky youths, with their united strength, pushing down the gable wall, and bringing the whole building to the ground. A reward of two pounds was offered for the apprehension of the offenders. Botany Bay, or Heath Gate, consisted of one house, inhabited by Rothwell, afterwards by Samuel Goodier; and one evening I can very well recollect, when Goodier had just finished making his water porridge, some unlucky youths let down the chimney a dead calf, having a ticket attached with instructions how to cook it. The place known as "Scutch Buttock" consisted of two cottages, one inhabited by the coachman to Edward Greaves, Esq., and from his mode of using the whip arose the name of his dwelling. The Asylum, now used as a dye- or bleach-works, consisted of a solitary house, occupied by a person named Hadfield. Culcheth consisted of Culcheth Hall, the residence of Edward Greaves, Esq. On Berry Brow stood a small farm, occupied by Joseph Bardsley. In Greaves Lane stood a farm-house, occupied by Betty Goodier; at the east end of Newton, a cottage, occupied by William Pendleton, a tailor. At Mount Pleasant, or the bottom of Long Lane, grew three large ash trees. The locality called Hillock consisted of one house, and that a public-house, with brick floor. At the end of Moston highway stood a small building, known as the Waggon House. Warden House was a farm-house, occupied by one Crook; adjoining it were two cottages, one inhabited by Roger Richardson, a silk weaver; and our correspondent can well recollect one John Wyatt serving an apprenticeship with Richardson to silk weaving. Silk velvet was woven at Richardson's house, — a rare occurrence in those days. Dixon and Co's works were then occupied by Mr. John Harnot, as farmer and bleacher. Shears Inn was occupied by Mr. John Whitehead. Near the Shears, on

Stock Green, resided a man named Kemp, in a house much worse for time and wear, with thatched roof, and altogether in a dilapidated state. This man, it would seem, had a great hobby for keeping geese, hens, ducks, &c. ; he also sported a donkey ; all of which he kept on the ground floor of the house. The house now occupied by Mr. Atkin was then a croft-house or bleach-works, occupied by Mr. James Beswick, then overseer of Newton. This place afterwards became the property and the residence of John Thorpe, Esq. The late Mr. Robert Thorpe, the surgeon, spent many of his youthful days at this residence. The Three Crowns Inn was occupied by William Booth. Where the three cottages stand now, inhabited by David Ainsworth, Brown and Howlet, was a farm-house and outbuildings, with three fields opposite, attached to the farm. Monkey House, a farm-house, was inhabited by Richard Stansfield, who died at the advanced age of about ninety years. Adjoining the Monkey House was a cottage, occupied by William Robinson, flagger and slater ; in the front of this farm-house grew some large plane trees. The King's Arms public-house was occupied by the Houltons as a farm-house only ; it became a public-house afterwards. Two cottages, near Miles Platting, were inhabited by Stansfield and Hampson. A Mr. Mayo resided at the large house near Miles Platting, which was used as a farm-house, and he kept a provision shop at the back of the premises. The White Hart public-house terminated this part of Newton.

In Lamb Lane was a farm-house called Whitworth Hall, with a few cottages adjoining. In Monsal Lane, where the brewery now stands, was a very old farm-house. The farm, known as Hardy's Farm, was occupied by a Mr. Hardy. On the site of Mr. Sandiford's house stood a small farm-house. Scotland Hall was a farm-house, occupied by Joseph Watt ; two cottages were attached to this farm. Near this place stood a small farm-house, inhabited by John Berry, whose wife lived to an advanced age, and had great pleasure in relating bygone occurrences. She could remember the Scotch rebels, and the great sickness in Manchester. During the latter period she presented her farm produce for sale near Butler

Street, not venturing to proceed further. In Cheetham Fold were a farm-house and bleach-works, occupied by Mr. Travis. Rose Hill was a small farm, occupied by William Robinson. Baguley Fold was a farm-house and bleach-works, occupied by Mr. Johnson. Grimshaw's farm was also used as bleach-works. Daniel Wild's farm was occupied by Thomas Cooper. Near Butler Street and Shooter's Brook stood a solitary farm-house, occupied by the Gagg's family: this accounts for "Gagg's fields." Tetlow's farm was also used as a bleach-works by Robert Hulme. Wood's farm and bleach-works, now fallen into decay and a great portion taken down, are now the property of James Taylor, Esq., of Newton.

Newton Church [or Chapel] was an ancient brick building, with stone steps outside the edifice to ascend to the gallery, and with clay or earth floor. Our informant can well remember carrying rushes from the rush-cart to lay on the floor of the church. On the south side of the church stood the parsonage house. On the north, and adjoining the church, was a school-house, which fell into decay and became unfit for use; and during the erection of the present school, the schoolmaster and scholars had to avail themselves of the use of the church. This new school was erected outside the churchyard, on the common or waste land. There was a large quantity of common or waste land in Newton at that period. A large portion was allotted to the warden and fellows of the Collegiate Church; a portion was allotted to the township of Newton, the proceeds of which were to be applied to the aid of the poor rate. John Thorpe, Esq., had a small portion allotted, opposite his estate. This common or waste land, allotted to the warden and fellows, has been let and sublet, on a short lease, for building upon. The portion allotted to John Thorpe, Esq., has been let or leased for a long term, and in one instance for ever. But it is the general opinion of the parties that have leased and built on this waste land for this short period, that their leases will be renewed at the expiration of the term, at the value of the land, without any further demand. If otherwise, the large number of cottage houses built on this waste land, on short leases, which are

nearly half expired, if left in the hands of the destroyer, Time, might present a miserable appearance. The short leasing in Newton, on Church land, accounts for the many small cottages in the township; persons declining to erect valuable property on so short a lease.

Old Men's Reminiscences of Manchester Localities.

THE following memoranda, which have the date of 1787, have been copied from the back of an old map of Manchester and Salford of the year 1772:

From some questions submitted in writing to the noted John Shaw, in 1787, it appears that he remembered the building of the then Exchange, and that the site of it was waste land, except a small building adjoining the conduit. From James Barnes's examination, it appears that some time prior to 1745, the cheese market was held in Smithy Door. That within twenty years prior to 1787, the then present shambles [in the Market Place] had been re-built. Had known fish and rabbits to be sold on the shambles. Had heard when a boy, that Lady Bland (lady of the manor) would not let any one fix a stall in the market without the consent of the boroughreeve.

Benjamin Oldham, aged 83, recollected a market for corn held at the Market Cross, under the rogue's post. Remembered corn and potatoes growing in the present St. Ann's Square, which were obliged to be removed the day before the fair, as people had a right to come to hold the fair even if it was not removed. Recollected the apple, potato, turnip, and carrot markets held where the Exchange then stood.

James Moors, aged 75, says that the oat market was formerly held on the southerly side of the Exchange, next to St. Ann's Square, and was subsequently removed to Fennel Street.

John Broadhurst, aged 72, formerly coachman to Mr. Edward Byrom, had, by his direction, on a Saturday, at twelve at noon, driven his master's cart round the shambles, knocking down all the butchers' blocks with the

meat thereon, on the south side of such shambles. His master's reason was "to preserve a free passage on the Saturday for the inhabitants of Manchester, his majesty's liege subjects."

Peter Collins, born in 1696. Only two rows of shambles when he first knew them, and had been widened fifty or sixty years since, on the side towards Old Millgate. Remembered St. Ann's Square being a field, called Acres [Aca's] Field, where corn, potatoes, and hemp grew. Remembered Lady Ann Bland laying the first stone of St. Ann's Church. Also butchers' stalls for the use of the Stockport butchers were pitched on the site of the Exchange; where stood a conduit, with two cocks on each side of it; and these stalls were lodged, when they were done with and taken down, in the then old sessions house, which is part of the long room, and which sessions house was also the guard-house for the soldiers then quartered in Manchester.

Isaac Turner, aged 83, remembers toll taken in Toll Lane for beasts and horses sold at Acres fair, for that reason called Toll Lane. The toll-gatherer administered an oath to the owners of cattle returning without being sold, in order to exempt them from toll.

Recollections of a Manchester Grammar School Boy.

The following communication was sent for publication to *The Manchester Guardian*, in which paper it appeared on the 16th December, 1848. We do not know the name of the writer, and are not certain that we ever knew it. He sent the communication, as the joint result of his own recollections of his boyhood, and of those of some of his ancestors; one of whom, his maternal grandfather, was in partnership with Sir Richard (then Mr.) Arkwright, whose cotton-mill was then in Shudehill, and whose warehouse was (in 1797) No. 9, Cromford Court. In 1776, he says, his father lived in Cannon Street. He himself was born in Manchester, and received his earlier education in the Manchester Free Grammar School, and afterwards became a member of the University of Oxford:

BEFORE Sir Richard Arkwright discovered the method of spinning cotton thread by rollers, which was the foundation of all the mighty inventions of machinery which have followed, Manchester was a moderate-sized market town, consisting of Deansgate, St. Mary's Gate, Smithy Door, the Market Place, and some small streets adjacent. I remember seeing an old map, with a picture in one corner of it, as maps have even now-a-days. In this picture were represented certain persons in the dress of Queen Anne's time, on foot, with leaping poles in their hands, hunting the hare in some fields on the banks of the river Irk, opposite the Grammar School Mills. I can remember hunting myself with the old Manchester harriers. They were very large dogs, much larger than the present fox-hound, remarkable for the melody of their voice, very slow, but very sure in their operation. When one of these dogs got upon the scent, he would squat upon his haunches, and with the greatest gravity, give tongue most melodiously; having finished his tune, he commenced hunting with equal deliberation, but was always successful. The last of these hounds which I saw was in a pack of very swift harriers, with which he cut a very queer figure. This pack belonged to the late Mr. Alderman Parker, of Retford, Notts, who had procured the dog with great difficulty, and prized him highly for the melody of his voice.

My maternal grandfather was in partnership with Sir Richard Arkwright. They had a mill in Shudehill. I have heard my father tell a story of Sir Richard bringing home a quantity of guineas in a pair of saddle-bags, hung on a blunderbuss. They secreted the money in the coal-box, supposing it to be safe. The servant girl threw the contents on the back of the fire, which, when the fact was discovered, caused some consternation, but no loss. In the year 1776 my father lived in a house in Cannon Street, which had a beautiful garden behind it. The best and most genteel parts of the town in those days were Cannon Street, Marsden Square, and St. Ann's Square. There was then no house beyond the White Bear Inn, except a cottage opposite the end of

Granby Row, until you came to Ardwick Green. In those days, the fellows of the Collegiate Church always went abroad in their gowns and cassocks; and I have heard my mother say, she had been reprov'd, when a little girl, by Parson Ainscough, for neglecting to make him a curtsey. This worthy divine was an excellent preacher, and remarkable for his sonorous voice, as well as for the dignity of his manners. The late Mr. Ethelston was a bad copy of him,* especially in the manner in which he held his academical cap extended before him when he ascended the pulpit.

This worthy divine was the original patron of the celebrated Joshua Brookes, or, as the Manchester people used to pronounce his name, "Jotty Bruks," of whose eccentricities there is an excellent account in *Blackwood's Magazine*. I will mention one of which I was an eye-witness:—A great number of couples had been arranged before the altar. When Master Brookes came to join their hands, there was found to be one woman too many; no matter for that, he was determined to make the man do double duty, and for the nonce at least, to have two wives. When one of the women objected to so arbitrary and summary a method of proceeding, he replied, "I can't stand talking to thee; prayers (*i.e.* the daily morning service) will be in directly; thou must go and find him after." The wretch was found drunk at the Ring o' Bells public-house. Whether the man when he became sober, was satisfied with this royal method of marriage by proxy, I cannot tell. "Jotty" was at the bottom a very worthy man, and a most excellent preacher, when he chose to take pains, but the misfortune was that he did not always choose. But his manner of performing his occasional duties was certainly most perfunctory. For instance, he would frequently leave the choir when singing the daily service, and converse with some loungers in the side aisles. On one occasion he met with a very aged gentleman [Mr. Johnson] talking to a friend (from whom I had this story), with whom he

* [On this subject there seems to have been a difference of opinion. But we doubt very much whether Mr. Ethelston copied any one. His manner surely was quite his own. 1866.]

entered into conversation. They expressed their surprise at this very loose and heterodox proceeding; but "Jotty" replied, "I frequently come out while they're singing *Ta Da-um*." In the course of conversation, he frequently made use of the expression, "we old men," to which Mr. Johnson rejoined, "How oud art ta?" "I'm sixty-foive." "Sixty-foive! T'as a lad; here's a penny for thee, go and buy thyself a penny pie." So "Jotty" returned to his desk to read the lessons, a penny in pocket.

His reverence had many ways of earning an honest pēnny; amongst others, as he lived next door to the Grammar School, which was an excellent locality for this trade, he dealt largely in second-hand books, such as Latin and Greek Grammars, *Ovids*, *Virgils*, *Homers*, &c. When I was a scholar there, a friend of mine said, "Old Brucks has got a capital *Juvenal*, but he does not know the value of it. Try to get it, and bid him as high as half-a-guinea; it is worth two guineas."* The temptation to a Grammar School boy of *doing* "Old Brucks" was irresistible; it was fighting him with his own weapons, in the use of which he certainly was most expert. He who had so often sold us Greek grammars for eighteen-pence, which were not worth a shilling, Latin grammars for a shilling, not worth eightpence, to say nothing of sins, more in number than the hairs of his head and his great thick bushy eyebrows, with his *Cæsar's Commentaries*, &c., — the triumph when I carried off the *Juvenal* at his own price was great indeed.

This exploit raised me very high in the opinion of my school-fellows, and I became a leader of that desultory warfare which we carried on incessantly against "Jotty," both physical and literary. I will furnish you with a gleanings or two concerning each of these two methods of warfare. First, as to our physical force. We found out that by running round the Grammar School, which his dwelling adjoined, during play hours, we could shake down all his plates and culinary utensils to their utter destruction; whilst the

* [These were the days when variorum editions of the Classics fetched guineas, which may now be obtained for as many shillings. 1866.]

glasses and cups danced in the cupboards to the jingling of the silver spoons ("music with its silver sound"), until he might have been excused if he had doubted of the soundness of Sir Isaac Newton's theory of gravitation. I remember one occasion on which this war of physical force came to a regular battle. The two first forms of the Grammar School boys were assembled one afternoon in September, to rehearse their speeches, which were to be delivered at the annual commemoration on the first Tuesday in October. Mr. Brookes came into the school and defied us. He said: "You are a set of blockheads; I would not come to hear your speeches if you would pay me for it." This speech raised the cry, as it was sure to do, of "Turn him out." He would not be turned out. Then came the application of physical force. He set his legs against the jamb of the door, and his back against the door itself, and how he escaped having both his legs broken, in the attempt to shut the door, was quite marvellous. When he got into the yard, he turned round on his assailants, and fought with them hand to hand most gallantly, disputing every inch of the ground. The arrival of the head master, Dr. Smith, saved him from being thrown over the wall into the river Irk, a precipice of about one hundred yards [? feet.]

As to our literary warfare, we not only lampooned him, but fathered verses upon him, as that celebrated wit, Mansel, bishop of Bristol, did upon old Viner. Writing on his door "*Odi profanum Bruks et arceo*," vexed him no little; also a lampoon on his inviting a friend to dine with him, when all he had for dinner was a black pudding, and which began:

O Jotty, you dog,
Your house, we well know,
Is head-quarters of prog.

He was a perpetual cracker, always ready to go off when touched with the lucifer match of irritation. He was no respecter of persons, but warred equally and indifferently with the passing chimney sweep, the huxter woman, the female who came too late to be

churched, and with his superiors the warden and fellows, who, for some trivial misbehaviour expelled him from the chapter-house, until he should make an apology. Brookes was not made of that sort of metal. He would put on his surplice in the adjoining chapel, and take his station close to the door of the chapter-house, under the monument of Lawson, his old governor, before divine service, and say to the passers by, "They won't let me go in; I can't behave myself." Poor Joshua Brookes! notwithstanding all his warfare, both physical and literary, — though his hand, like Ishmael's, was "against every man and every man's hand against him," — he dwelt in the presence of his brethren, and died, in a good old age, in that house adjoining the Grammar School, from which his tormentors never could eject him.

While we are on this classic ground, dedicated to true religion and sound learning, let us see if we can glean a little matter of something curious and entertaining in the excellent institution adjoining, — the Blue Coat School, founded by Humphrey Chetham.

It was the custom in the early part of this century for the market people, especially females, in their red cloaks, to resort to this institution, probably because they were related to some of the blue coat boys. They were shown into the buttery, and asked to partake of a slice of the excellent brown bread, and to taste the brewage. Then one of the boys conducted them into the old-fashioned library, with its relics of antiquity; and many a time and oft have I listened, when studying in that delightful reading-room, to this solemn but somewhat ludicrous and entertaining performance. You might hear several footsteps entering the library; then there was a pause while the blue coat boy marshalled his visitors opposite what you shall hear in his own words: "A pair of globes." The party having had due time to contemplate the same, they moved on a few paces, and then came another solemn pause, when the boy sang out: "That's a clock, which only strikes once a year." Again they moved on, and the next announcement was, "Skeleton of a mon." The boy then con-

ducted his visitors to the further end of the gallery, where were several weapons and pieces of armour, and other curiosities. He then, with the same gravity and deliberation, resumed his description: "Oliver Cromwell's sword;"* "A woman's clog split by a thunder-bolt, and she was not hurt." (Truly, he did not inform his visitors whether she had the clog on when it was split: she might have been dancing at her younger sister's wedding in her stockings, for aught we know.) Then followed a description of sundry other articles which I forget. As the visitors returned, they were stopped opposite a small glass-case in which were an arrow — a few phials with something in them preserved in spirits. As to the contents of this case of curiosities, you shall have it in the boy's own words: "That's an arrow found on Bosworth Field, when King Richard the Third was killed — all sorts of reptiles, adders, snakes, and venomous creatures:" and then (for verily from the sublime to the ridiculous there's but a step) how did it end? Oh, most lame and impotent conclusion! "Buy an apple-scraper, or a pin-cushion."

We will now return to the state of Manchester in the year 1776, or thereabouts. About this time the town of Manchester began to extend rapidly in all directions. Before the close of the eighteenth century the ground was covered with houses from the White Bear Inn to the end of Piccadilly; and all the way, with some intervals, to Bank Top and as far as Ardwick Green. The Infirmary was built, Oldham Street, &c.; and Mosley Street then became the residence of the most wealthy inhabitants. During this century St. Mary's Church was built at the sole expense of the warden and fellows. Then St. John's Church was added; built by the Byrom family, of which the Rev. John Clowes was the first minister. He was a man of most blameless life and conversation, but he fell into the reveries of Baron Swedenborg, which much impaired his usefulness as a parochial minister. The next church erected was St. James's. It was built by Cornelius Bailey, who was originally a leather-breeches maker; then he became a

* The sword of a dragoon, accidentally burned to death in a house close by.

methodist preacher. He had a considerable knowledge of Hebrew ; and truly we may apply to him the words of Sir Hudibras :

Hebrew roots are often found
To flourish best on barren ground.
Sufficiently he was supplied
To make some think him circumcised.

For I believe it is a fact, that the bishop who ordained him had strong suspicions that he was a Jew. "Set some pork before me, my lord, and I'll soon convince you to the contrary," was the answer of the candidate for Orders. Afterwards he entered himself as a ten years' man at Cambridge, and took a doctor's degree. This proceeding was not much approved of by some of his former associates, and they took care to remind him of "the rock whence he was hewn, and the hole of the pit whence he was digged," by a caricature representing him as rising in all the glories of his scarlet hood out of a pair of leathern breeches. He had a tall amazon for his wife, who accompanied him in all his parochial visitations, and fired off her spiritual grenades with terrible effect : he was a laborious and pains-taking minister, a pious and a good man. The next church built, I think, was St. Paul's ; the next, St. Clement's, of which the Rev. Edward Smythe was the first minister ; he was descended from a very good family in Ireland, Smythe, archbishop of Dublin, being his ancestor. He had come, somehow or other, into collision with ecclesiastical authorities in Ireland, and he came over to England under the banners of Wesley. He conformed to the Church of England in the performance of divine service, but for many years he could not get this church licensed by the bishop. The next church built was St. Peter's ; the congregation consisted chiefly of what were facetiously termed "the genteel sinners." After which, during a period of nearly twenty years, while the population of this extensive parish was more than doubled, not a single additional place of worship was provided belonging to the Established Church.

At the beginning of the present century, and during the threatened invasion from France, Manchester resembled a garrison town.

This was no foolish panic, like that of 1847, but a well-planned preparation for a resolute resistance, against preparations the most formidable on the other side the water. There were three fine regiments of infantry, each of which was a thousand strong; several troops of yeomanry cavalry, the rifle corps, a corps called "the fourth class," and one called St. George's. These regiments were paraded to church on Sunday mornings, drilled on Sunday afternoons, and again on Mondays, and as often as occasion required. The shops, as well as the warehouses, were full of officers attending to their various callings, in undress uniforms; so what *Punch* was pleased to ridicule in his papers on the Brook Green Volunteer, was nothing more nor less than a very accurate representation of a fact which actually took place; about the time, probably, when Messrs. Thackeray, Leech, and Gilbert Abbot à Becket, were in their nurses' arms, and had a very good chance, although they were not aware of it, of being lost in the crowd, or left upon the grass, through these military attractions. Will any of your readers believe me when I inform them that all the privates in these regiments were powdered and pomatumed, and every one of them had a fictitious pigtail. There were no radicals and chartists in those times; no miserable screech-owl of a Jacobite [Jacobin] durst move his tongue,* "in all this pride and pomp and circumstance of war." Had he done so, he would quickly have been silenced with such a song as this:

Should Boneyparte come,
We'll fit him for his folly;
We'll settle him, by gum,
And wed him to our Dolly.
She'll take his honour down,
And him severely handle;
She'd make him look as small
As any farding candle.

This chorus was most vociferously encored by the gallery of the

* Not even the croaking and old snuffy Mrs. Bradbury, the midwife, who brought the author of these gleanings into the world.

theatre, especially when filled by volunteers; and low and vulgar as it may be thought in these days, nevertheless, I think it showed the indomitable courage which animated the nation at that time.

I just now mentioned the Manchester Theatre Royal. At this time there was a most efficient company of performers. George Frederick Cooke, the celebrated Shylock, made his first appearance on the Manchester boards. In this company there were Elliston, Wray, Irish Johnstone, Mrs. Jordan, Tailleure and his old wife, and many other excellent actors, whose names I forget. We had always, on Monday night, one of Shakspeare's plays, and well acted.

The town of Manchester, which

no town surpasses

For honest men and bonny lasses,

was always famous, and I believe is so even in these modern times, for generosity, hospitality, and conviviality. In a commercial town, where such opportunities are given for successful enterprise, and the acquirement of large fortunes, no reasonable man would expect that it would be free from the worship of mammon, or in other words, that men wholly taken up with their commercial concerns, might [not] consider the expression "a good man" to mean exclusively a man who was punctual in all his transactions, and had a good balance at his bankers; but the majority of these "honest men" deserve the character of being generous, hospitable, and convivial. When I lived in Manchester, these honest men dined at one o'clock, returned to their counting-houses about two, their wives had tea parties early in the evening, and at eight o'clock, when business was over, the men returned to supper — and such a supper! Homer tells of a certain hero who threw a stone at his enemy —

Such a stone as scarce two men could raise,

Such men as live in these degenerate days.

And truly we may apply this to these famous suppers. After supper that social enjoyment and conviviality took place, which

takes place at polite dinner parties at half-past seven o'clock ; call the dinner at one o'clock lunch, and the supper dinner, and I see nothing but a distinction without a difference.

If your readers will consult Izaak Walton's *Angler* and Daniel's *Rural Sports*, he will find out this great fact, — that people who take their first substantial meal at noon, and the meal after which they enjoyed themselves, at eight o'clock in the evening, have come round to the hours of two hundred years ago.

Somehow or other, at Manchester, this conviviality would go into the lunch or dinner at one o'clock. A merchant would take a customer or two home with him at one o'clock, and when they were returning to business between two and three, this was a very common remark : "C.'s gone down to the counting-house this afternoon, between his friends A. and B., *vandyking*," which word is metaphorical ; the meaning is, that the aforesaid C. was somewhat unsteady in his walk, and that he crossed his legs after that fashion, which might represent to a man of a fertile and ingenious imagination, that zigzag cut or pattern of a collar, usually painted by Vandyke in his celebrated portraits.

Having now given you my gleanings as to the honest men of Manchester, I will give you a gleaning or two concerning bonnie lasses, — bonnie they were, and are still, I make no doubt, — with witchcraft in their eyes, and hence called "Lancashire Witches."

What could be more appropriate and in good taste and feeling, than the practice so common amongst these good wives, of always receiving the communion in their wedding dress ? How often have I heard this remark on an Easter Sunday : "Mrs. Y. has been to receive the sacrament ; she's got her wedding gown on."

These good dames of the olden time had received a good education, not only in the accomplishment of embroidery, &c., but in

the most useful arts

Of making pies, puddings and tarts.

There was a nice little shop opposite the Mosley Arms Inn, then called the "Royal Oak," where these bonnie lasses, some of whom

had their £20,000 fortunes, went to be initiated in all the mysteries of the kitchen, and thus they became well qualified to manage their households. Alas! it is not so now.

SCHOLÆ MANC: QUONDAM ALUMNUS.

*Recollections of Men and Places of the Past.**

THE reminiscences of one denizen of the last century have naturally provoked the remembrances of other contemporaries, and from some of these combined we have been enabled to furnish some other curious notices of men and manners, and of localities, in a period long past, and only preserved in the memories of a few sexagenarians and their seniors.

A relative of the Rev. Joshua Brookes says that during the period mentioned by the writer of the preceding article, both the Gatliffes were numbered amongst the scholars of the Manchester Free Grammar School, as were the sons of Mr. Owen. An "Old Inhabitant" says that as to the dogs mentioned (see *ante*, p. 190), "I have been out with them myself, as they always turned out on October 1st, our holiday." The huntsman's daughter, he states, was drowned in the Infirmary pond, long before the last ducking-stool was placed there. "I have ridden into it frequently, to water the horses, when Haslehurst's dye-house (fustians) was upon the spot where the Royal Hotel now stands. Jack Battye sketched a caricature of Joshua Brookes, which I possess, and for which Jack was obliged to quit the town; and after a long absence, he at length returned, and went to intreat Joshua to pardon him. It is to the honour of Joshua that he readily forgave him. Joshua's father was a cripple from his youth, and a shoemaker. When he came to Manchester from Cheadle Hulme, he lived in a room in the entry or place called 'Sot's Hole,' behind Ridgefield. His

* This article was written in 1849.

next abode was a chamber over a gateway in Deansgate, near the Three Arrows public-house. When 'Parson Ainscough' took Joshua by the hand, the youth's father went to the houses of some of the rich inhabitants to ask for pecuniary aid to send Joshua to college, for he was then an excellent scholar. The last removal of the father was to a passage in Long Millgate, opposite the house of Mr. Lawson, then high master of the Grammar School; who, by the way, had many boarders. Both Joshua and his father were of exceedingly irritable temper; but it was one of the best traits in the character of Joshua, that he always treated the old man with the greatest respect and forbearance; though from his intemperate habits and quarrelsome disposition, he was perpetually involved in disputes and scrapes not creditable to the father of a clergyman of the Church of England."

The caricature is well known, and still preserved, which represents Joshua Brookes as in the midst of the burial service at a grave in the Old Church-yard, when espying a chimney-sweep on the church-yard wall, he could not resist a command to the beadle, which was thus oddly blended with the solemn diction of the funeral service: "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying"—"Knock that rascal off the wall." Whether this was literally the fact, we do not pretend to say; but it was quite in accordance with his somewhat *brusque* and *outré* manners. Amongst other habits, he would quit a grave in the midst of the burial service, and proceed to the large bow-windowed shop, still in the confectionary line, in Half Street, which was then kept by almost as queer an original as himself, an old woman named Clowes, who carried on an extraordinarily large and thriving trade in the manufacture of sweets from boiled sugar. Joshua would ask for some horehound drops for his throat; always received them, and never paid anything for them; he would then quietly return and resume the burial service which he had so strangely interrupted for such a purpose. Joshua was a pigeon fancier, and kept a number in a dove-cot at the top of his house. He had a standing contract with Mrs. Clowes to take all her stale bread, cakes, buns, &c., for

feeding his pigeons, and for years he paid for this three-halfpence a pound.

This Mrs. Clowes is worthy of a few lines in our gleanings. In her days sweets, such as lozenges, toffy, and the large yellow things called "humbugs," were in great demand by young and old; but in modern times they have been much superseded by intoxicating liquors. Though at first she was in a humble way of business, she was so industrious, persevering and successful, that she realised a fortune, and bequeathed £18,000 or £20,000 to her relatives, and left a flourishing business to her successor. She had several men and boys (apprentices) in her sugar-bakery; and in the summer of 1812, when several regiments of militia were encamped on Kersal Moor, although that period of the year was usually the slack season, so great was the demand for sweets to vend to the numerous visitors to the Moor, that all her hands worked almost night and day for some time, to meet this extraordinary demand. She would often herself take an active part in the labour, for severe labour it was, of pulling the boiled sugar into long ropes; and when her step-son, who worked in this part of the business, one day fell exhausted and fainting on the floor, overcome by the severe toil in a necessarily heated atmosphere, while his comrades got him water, she only looked at him and said, "Thou'rt a poor soft thing." It must not be supposed, however, from this circumstance, that she was hard-hearted or stern. She was only so strong, physically, that she could not understand how a man could be more feeble than herself. She was a kind mistress to her servants; and she had one good trait, that every Sunday she gave a good dinner to fourteen old men and women in poor circumstances; and she never tasted dinner until they had all dined, serving them herself. One of them, the senior, continued to dine at her house every Sunday for many years, indeed till death at a very advanced age, nearly one hundred. She went regularly to the "Old Church," and required all her household to go there; but she also kept them at work till the last bell "put in"; and they had to make the necessary change of attire in the very few minutes left before the

commencement of service. As for herself, she went to church in her usual head-dress, consisting of an old-fashioned mob-cap, and a chocolate silk handkerchief tied over it, by way of bonnet. She went frequently to Liverpool to buy her sugar, and always in this style, though occasionally an old black bonnet covered all. After doing business for some time with one of the old sugar houses in Liverpool, she learned that the Branckers had commenced business, and thinking she would give them a trial, she proceeded to their warehouse, and asked to see samples of their sugars. The vendor, after glancing at her humble and odd attire, evidently came to the conclusion that she was a customer not worth attending to, and he accordingly did not take the trouble to show her any variety of samples. Mrs. Clowes, seeing how things stood, left the warehouse, and the next morning (for journeys to Liverpool in those times were affairs of two days) she borrowed a silk gown and more fashionable head-dress of her landlady, and again going to Branckers' sugar warehouse, found herself received with much more consideration and respect. Still her order for sugar was so large, that there was some inquiry made as to payment. She at once paid the amount, and the scruples and precautions of the vendors being at length fairly satisfied, Mrs. Clowes, in her old gown, mutch, and kerchief, was ever afterwards welcomed as a good and safe customer at the warehouse of the Branckers. In the palmy days of her trade, it is said, she baked and worked up into sweetmeats not less than from eight to nine tons of sugar weekly. She made up a cwt. of sugar, at eightpence the pound, into "humbugs," finding the colouring and flavouring, and then retailed them at eightpence the pound.

Another noted confectioner and conductor of special constables of those days, was Mr. Murray, whose shop was in Withy Grove, and who, we believe, is still living, and resides in Strangeways. At the period when the "radicals" of that time ("chartists" they would be now) were holding frequent Sunday drillings on White Moss, where the cavalry could not pursue them, and where the scouts could easily give them warning of the approach of infantry,

it was deemed desirable that some person should attend these meetings, so as to identify the leaders, and, if possible, to ascertain the objects of the people. The late Mr. Shawcross, for many years a clerk in the Manchester police-office, was one of those selected for this purpose; Mr. Murray, the confectioner, was another; and there was a third, whose name has escaped the memory of our informant. The better to disguise themselves Mr. Shawcross put on the gown and bands of a clergyman, and Mr. Murray wore a sort of working dress, with a clean white apron. The three went to the drilling on White Moss at a very early hour one Sunday morning, and mixed with the large crowd which usually assembled to see the evolutions and military exercises. It should be stated that Mr. Murray had endeavoured to give himself the external appearance of a weaver; but being a very stout man, the anomaly between his clothes and his rotund figure soon attracted attention in a body of people whose senses were sharpened by the continual apprehension of spies. Soon arose loud cries of "He's no weaver; he's a spy;" and then proceeded a mob assault on Mr. Murray, who was speedily knocked down, compelled to curse the king, and kicked with great violence till he became insensible, and was at length removed in a coach, and conveyed home, where he was confined for several months, and suffered severely from the injuries he received. Nor did the indignation of the mob end with this treatment; crowds gathered round his shop door, shouting the offensive name they had given him as a maker of "humbugs," "White Moss Humbug;" his business, previously a flourishing one, fell off; and ultimately he retired, and has since lived upon a competence previously secured. But he has never visited another White Moss drill. Mr. Shawcross, on seeing his comrade discovered, sought to make his escape, and had got into the lane leading from the Moss, when he was overtaken; but he was suffered to proceed after receiving a few parting kicks from his pursuers. The third party, not so strikingly disguised, or better becoming his disguise, escaped undetected.

The following are the personal recollections of places of one of

our correspondents, in and about the year 1776: In that year I was bound apprentice; and I recollect the river Tib then ran above ground. Just above the Talbot Inn a flag was laid across the stream, there only three feet wide, for foot passengers to cross over. This was a little beyond Haslehurst's dye-house; and once, in a very dry season, an acquaintance of mine saw the current of the "river" Tib stopped for three days by a large cabbage stalk! The Infirmary pond was then surrounded by a wall, and retained its old name of "Daube Holes." The present White Bear Inn was an old half-timbered house, one relic of which, in the rear of the premises, may be seen standing by any one who will go up the yard of the inn. From this house there was then no other along Piccadilly (then called Lever's Row) till you came to Standley Barn, which stood in a field, now part of Piccadilly. Below the bridge over Shooter's Brook stood an old house, where a swivel-weaver, named Edge, then lived; and there were no other buildings outside the road till you came to the blacksmith's smithy at this end of Ardwick. On the other side the road, proceeding from Market street, the first noticeable thing was the first milestone, which stood in a "hedge backing," about where the Wheat Sheaf Inn now stands. Next you came to an old house, about the end of Granby Row, which led down to the Cold Bath, then kept by some persons named Heys, who carried on the business of "holland washers." This was a kind of cloth with much blue in it, and it required to be washed after the weaver. Going thence, I used to water the horse in a fine clear stream at Ardwick Bridge, now the filthy Medlock; and next came to the carriage road up to Chorlton Hall. I recollect being at the sale there, when Roger Aytoun left it. There was no other building on that side, until you came to the milestone at Rusholme Lane end, Ardwick, upon which was cut "XI Miles to Wilmslow." I saw the foundation laid of the first warehouse built by the great Duke of Bridgewater, at Knott Mill; and I also saw the first vessel come in, when the canal was opened through to Runcorn, and I stood by the cannon when fired in Castle Field in honour of the occasion. I saw the

foundation laid of St. John's Church; and the Rev. John Clowes, of that church, christened a child of mine. I knew Dr. Bailey's Amazonian wife from a child; her mother has made me many a present, and has had me to tea with her.

In the grenadier corps commanded by Mr. Cross, the barrister, afterwards Mr. Sergeant Cross, was an intimate acquaintance of mine. He subsequently went to Moscow; left that city when the French entered it; returned shortly after they evacuated it, and remained there till his death. His widow is still living in Hulme.

*Old Manchester Families and Residences.**

We have received the following notices of some of the old residences and old families of Manchester, from an antiquarian correspondent at Burnley.

I NOTICED in the *Manchester Guardian* a plan of the premises intended for Owens College, in the unparalleled Quay Street of other days. They were erected by William Allen, Esq. Observe the centre part of the beautifully wrought-iron palisading at the head of the flight of steps; you there find the family crest, and underneath the initials of the founder. He was the son of John Allen, lord of the manor of Urmston, of Davyhulme Hall, nigh Flixton, and of Mayfield, Moss Side, in the parish of Manchester; afterwards the seat of the never-to-be-forgotten man of *virtu*, Leigh Philips, Esq. Mr. Allen was a banker, but living in a magnificent style in town and country, and not sufficiently attending to his finances, with a large property at stake, he unfortunately became deeply involved, causing so great a shock in the town and vicinage, as would hardly obtain credence in the present day. Failures among bankers were rare indeed at that period.

* This article was written in 1850.

Mr. Henry Norris (now Norreys) then lived in Portland Place, the house in which the highly-gifted and lamented W. R. Whatton, F.S.A., expired. He married Anne, daughter of John Allen aforesaid, and on the insolvency of William Allen purchased the Davyhulme demesne, quitting Manchester altogether (where he had realised a large fortune in trade) to make the other his future residence, with a "coach and four," and in the commission of the peace.

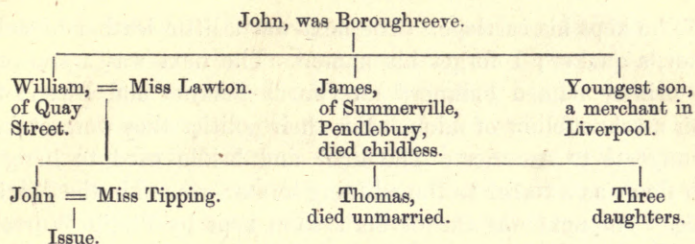
The handsomest and largest house in the town was on the same side of Quay Street, near the top, now altered into three; Mr. Pitt's dancing academy is the grand entrance. Here lived Lady Egerton, the mother of Sir Thomas, who eventually was raised to the peerage by King George III., a monarch very sparing in his bestowal of titles. He was the grandsire of his namesake the present Earl of Wilton. After her ladyship's demise it was tenanted by Mr. Lloyd, barrister-at-law, the father of Edward Jeremiah Lloyd, Esq., of Oldfield Hall, near Altrincham, and of King Street. The late Sir Watts Horton, Bart., of Chaderton Park, nigh Middleton, uncle by marriage of the present Earl of Derby (likewise a connection of the Lloyds), passing through Manchester *en route* for Eaton Hall, then Earl Grosvenor's, rested one night in Quay Street, when, as a proof of the capacious establishment, forty-two beds were prepared for the occasion. View the just proportion of the whole mansion, the correctness of the masonry, especially the sculpture over the principal door, and you will pronounce it justly takes precedence, in architectural beauty, of Mr. Allen's, although that is generally considered an elegant house.

Mr. Hardman, the father of the late John and Thomas, a family of exquisite taste, became the purchaser of the house now to be the Owens College. This gentleman was a profound musician, and built the splendid music room; had a fine collection of paintings, on which he judiciously expended from £30,000 to £40,000; also a valuable cabinet of gold, silver and copper coins, selected with exceedingly great care, and much enriched by his son Thomas's superior quantity; for they went hand-in-hand in their elegant

pursuits, keeping pace too with the literature of the day Truly, on reviewing that costly edifice, it was Chatsworth in miniature.

The Hardmans were of high respectability; the grandfather (Mr. John Hardman) of Thomas (named by the ladies "the handsome bachelor," but in younger days "Antinoüs") filled the office of boroughreeve of Manchester in 1764, inhabiting a good house in Deansgate, since taken down. It was the next to that of Miss Jodrell, and where Parliament Street now is. As a favourite pupil of the late Mr. Thomas Barritt, herald, antiquary and virtuoso, I had the prized privilege of accompanying him to behold any new picture, medal, private musical parties, or matters connected with science and art, nearly half a century ago; and at this moment I feel as if cast into a poetic dream of the past. Really, I cannot suffer such patrons of every thing great and good to sink into oblivion, now that an opportunity presents itself of paying a due tribute to departed worth. I shall never again witness under one roof so much genius concentrated—all that the heart could wish—a highly intellectual, accomplished fire-side circle, whose moral excellence, perfect good-breeding, and well-used wealth, cannot possibly be obliterated from a grateful remembrance. Yet in 1799 there were many rich families long resident in the town: the Byroms, Bayleys, Barrows, Borrons, Braddocks, Heywoods, Hydes, Hibberts, Hamiltons, Johnsons, Joneses, Marklands, Marriotts, Norrises, Philippses, Percivals, Rawlinsons, Robinsons, Righys, Thackerys, Tippings, Touchets, Walkers, &c.; "but not one beside," the arbiter, Mr. Barritt, said (who was then in his 60th year, and born at the corner of Hanging Ditch), "could cope with the studio in Quay Street, for literature, science and the arts." Mrs. Hardman was Miss Lawton, an heiress commanding £30,000, an immense dower eighty years ago. John, her eldest son, married Miss Tipping, of Crumpsall Hall, leaving issue. Thomas died unmarried: a memento of three generations deserving of record.

We have appended to this communication the following pedigree of the Hardmans:



The James in the above was married, but had no issue. He also evinced refinement of taste in his vast number of paintings and sculptures. He was very affluent, and lived in great style. Thomas "the handsome" kept up the house in Quay Street during his mother's life.*

*The Old Market Place and Neighbouring Streets
in 1772.†*

BEGINNING with Old or Short Millgate, the first shop, which stood where the street is now, was kept by a man named Cavendish,¹ who removed to St. Ann's Place. The next was Messrs. Clarke,² the booksellers, who originally came from Cumberland. The next was Battersby's,³ the yarn merchant: it is now the Fal-

* [He died August, 1838, aged 60. His choice and valuable collection of paintings, portraits, books, prints and coins, was sold by auction, by Winstanley, in October in the same year. The mansion in which Mr. Thomas Hardman lived at the time of his death, Richmond House, Higher Broughton, was purchased by, and is still in the possession of, James Hatton, Esq.; and in it many of Mr. Hardman's most valuable paintings, and other works of art, have found an appropriate resting place. 1866.]

† This article was written in December, 1850.

¹ [James Cavendish, cheesemonger, 23, Market Place. *Directory* 1773.]

² [Abraham Clarke, bookseller and stationer, 2, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

³ [Thomas Battersby, yarn merchant. *D.* 1773.]

staff; he kept his carriage. The next was a little leather-breeches maker, a quaker; I forget his name.⁴ The next was a stationer and printer named Falkner,⁵ afterwards Falkner and Birch; the latter a schoolfellow of mine. For their politics they were obliged to emigrate to America. The knot and bridle used to hang at their door, as a terror to the scolding huxter-women in the Market Place. The next was the barber's shop kept by Philip Worrall,⁶ an eccentric character: he was check-taker at the box door at the theatre in Spring Gardens; his benefit was always the "Jealous Wife," and "Big Banks" played Major Oakley for him. A countryman coming in to be shaved one Saturday, Phil charged him a penny. "I pay no more than a haupenny a whoam." "Well," says Phil, "I can shave for that." Next week the man came again, Phil lathered his face, shaved one side, and then pulled off his cloth. "Whoy, yone only shaved one side." "Ay," says Phil, "that's a hauporth." Next was the Bull's Head, kept by Alsop;⁷ his entertaining rooms were on both sides the gateway. Next was a tallow chandler's, where my master bought some cwts.; I think the name was Wroe.⁸ I don't remember the next; but going past the Angel Yard was Wilson's,⁹ a linendraper; John Lowe was an apprentice with him, late of Cannon Court and Shepley Hall, near Hooley Hill. Then comes Mrs. Cooke,¹⁰ druggist, where George Vaughan was apprenticed. I don't recollect who kept the next shop, but it had been kept by Whitworth, a printer and auctioneer; I knew his widow, who lived and died in Tib Lane. Harrop's *Mercury* Office was the next; and the Dog and Partridge, kept by one Ainsworth; and then Carrington and Crossley's, afterwards Fawcett's. These premises were, in old deeds, taken together, and

⁴ [Not in the *Directory* of 1773.]

⁵ [Matthew Falkner, bookseller and stationer, 6, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

⁶ [Philip Worrall, peruke-maker, 10, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

⁷ [Richard Alsop, innholder, Bull's Head, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

⁸ [Richard Wroe, chandler and tythe gatherer, 8, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

⁹ [Thomas and William Wilson, drapers, Market Place. *D.* 1781.]

¹⁰ [John Cook, chymist, druggist, and seedsman, 12, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

called "Whitehall." Crossing over and avoiding Market Street Lane, was Travis,¹¹ the ironmonger; then Rawlinson,¹² a barber, whose house was in Marsden Street, adjoining a cellar bakehouse, next a watchmaker, from whom I bought a watch; then old Prescott's,¹³ printer and stationer. Omitting the passage to Rushton's¹⁴ punch house, Mrs. Budworth kept the coffee and dining rooms over several of these shops, and it was in the room over them that Captain Monsey was killed in a duel, fought with swords, by Captain Hamilton, after they had been baiting a badger at Falkner Phillips's, at Badger Hall.¹⁵ Next was Whip's,¹⁶ the saddler, close to Acres Gates, where only one cart at a time could come out of St. Ann's Square; and to make ill worse, there was a wooden staircase on one side to a room above, under which was a cobbler's stall, to work in, that no room might be lost. Where Exchange street is now was Newton's,¹⁷ the bookseller, where the gentlemen of the town used to go in order to know what the bells were ringing for. The fashion was at that time, to send a guinea or two to the ringers, when a man had brought his wife to the town. Newton's was under the old coffee-house, and then the Coffee-house Entry, which was better known as Fox Entry, from a public-house with that sign, also from Mr. Fox,¹⁸ the tea dealer, living in a little court in it. His shop came to the front of the market; to Jones's afterwards. The firm was Jones, Fox, and Co. Jones¹⁹ had a tea warehouse in Market

¹¹ [Matthew Travis, ironmonger, Market Place. D. 1773.]

¹² [Matthew Rawlinson, peruke-maker and hair-dresser, 19, Market Place, and Pall Mall. D. 1773.]

¹³ [John Prescott, printer and bookseller, Old Millgate. D. 1773.]

¹⁴ [John Rushton, Punch-house, 21, Market Place. D. 1773.]

¹⁵ [Captain Mouncey, of the 29th regiment, and Cornet Hamilton fought a duel with swords, in Spencer's Tavern, in the Market Place, when the former was killed. March 21st, 1783. The quarrel originated over the respective qualities of two dogs. Hamilton was acquitted by a coroner's jury, and Mouncey was honoured with a public funeral, at St. John's Church. *Records of Manchester*. 1866.]

¹⁶ [John Whip, saddler, 22, Market Place. D. 1773.]

¹⁷ [William Newton, bookseller, stationer, and printseller, Market Place. D. 1773.]

¹⁸ [William Fox, tea warehouse, 12, St. Mary's Gate. D. 1773.]

¹⁹ [John Jones and Sons, bankers and tea dealers, 104, Market Street Lane. D. 1773.]

Street at the time, and the bank at the back, up a passage. Greaves was their clerk, and a brother-in-law of mine was an apprentice with them. I will now pass by St. Mary's Gate, and leave old Chrysor, the grocer and at times a non-juring preacher, to go over to Mr. Booth's,²⁰ the hairdresser, afterwards Booth and Boardman; then Booth became a gentleman commissioner under Pitt's Income Tax. I think there is only one of these left, viz., Mr. Lucas, at Birch; next was Saunders,²¹ the clockmaker, and Cockbain's,²² the bootmaker; I went to school with his son: one of his descendants is now in Piccadilly; then the Queen Ann Gateway. Carrington was the landlord; I went to school with his son. He went into the cotton trade, and at Liverpool, to have an easy death, ordered a warm bath, opened some veins, and fell asleep. Then was an old woman who sold herrings, red and white, also black and white puddings, for which I was sometimes a customer. Then came Heywood's,²³ the great china shop; he was a cousin to my mother. I will now cross over to the Three Boars' Heads, Peter Fernhead's;²⁴ good sound ale was sold there, and workmen sometimes got a drop too much. Check calendermen had then ten shillings and sixpence a week, and fustian calendermen only nine shillings. One of the former having been at Peter's, fell down; and it having been a rainy day, and a hard frost chopping in at night, he lay with his feet in the channel, and being quite moonlight, he was found before morning with his feet fast. A passer-by seeing him, awoke him, and he looking up, saw the moon shining, and taking it for his wife disturbing him, said "Put out that candle, and lay some more clothes on my feet." After this was Kent's,²⁵ the watchmaker; I have a watch now that I bought of him. I have forgotten a shop

²⁰ [Joseph Booth, peruke-maker and hair-dresser, Market Place and Half Moon Street. *D.* 1773.]

²¹ [Nathaniel Saunders, clock-maker, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

²² [Isaac Cockbain, shoemaker, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

²³ [John Heywood, glass and china-man, corner of Smithy Door. *D.* 1773.]

²⁴ [Peter Fearnhead, Three Boars' Heads, Market Place. *D.* 1781.]

²⁵ [John Kent, watch-maker, Smithy Door. *D.* 1773.]

or two further on; but they were under Crompton's²⁶ coffee-house, from which to the Exchange was only a narrow cart road; and it was said that Deacon's and Tom Syddall's heads were taken off the spikes one night from the roof of Crompton's house. When the Exchange was bought by Upton,²⁷ in Church Street, and pulled down, the stones and materials were carried to about Shepley Street, and I saw the spikes, both let into one stone. I think the next shop was Barton's,²⁸ a noted good watchmaker. Now we are at Peter Berry's²⁹ auction room and his grocer's shop, selling goods by day and books at night; I was sometimes a customer; then Fowler's,³⁰ the stocking shop. I think there was another before we came to the corner, a man-mercier's, called Byrom's³¹ shop. I once saw him at the corner standing, and as some gentlemen then wore narrow gold lace on their hats as well as on their waistcoats, he had on one of that sort. When the King of Denmark came here,³² his carriage was the only one fit for him; there were then but three in town, Bailey's, Bradshaw's, and Byrom's. I come to the old Market Cross, with the stocks, pillory, nicknamed the tea-table, upon which I have seen them dance when whipped by the beadle. Now we are at the Short Millgate again.

As I write from memory, of years long gone, when I was a lad, there may be some errors, but not intentional ones.

²⁶ [Mrs. Crompton, Coffee-house, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

²⁷ [John Upton, timber merchant, Church Street. *D.* 1773.]

²⁸ [Thomas and John Barton, watch-makers, 32, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

²⁹ [Peter Berry and Co., grocers, Market Place. *D.* 1781.]

³⁰ [Thomas Fowler, hosier, 33, Market Place. *D.* 1773.]

³¹ [Miss Phœbe Byrom, milliner, 1, Shambles, *D.* 1773; milliner, Market Place. *D.* 1781.]

³² [In 1768 Christian VII. visited Manchester, and lodged at the Bull's Head. 1866.]

Sketches of Manchester in Verse, in 1777.

A FEW years ago Mr. Lowndes of Liverpool presented to the corporation of Manchester, for preservation in its library, a curious quarto volume, containing four separate printed tracts, bound together. It had once belonged to that eccentric clergyman, the Rev. Joshua Brookes, chaplain of the Manchester Parish and Collegiate Church; and on the fly leaf at the beginning of the volume is written, in his well-known hand, "Jos. Brookes, 1807." In the same hand, on the same page, is written: "Contents, 1. *Cantabrigienses Graduati ab 1660 ad 1800.* 2. *The Poetical Correspondent*, by the Rev. T. Bancroft, A.M., now vicar of Bolton, then Ær. Nas. Coll. Alumnus. [Student of Brasenose College.] 3. Aikins's *Specim. of Medical Biography.* 4. *Cambridge*, a poem, 1756." It is the second of these publications that we shall notice.

The title-page of this publication is *The Poetical Correspondent; or Sketches of Manchester in Verse, written in Letters by a Person in Town to his Friend at Cambridge.* Interlined in Mr. Brookes's handwriting is written, by way of explanation as to "the person in town:"

Mr. Thomas Bancroft,* usher of Manchester Free Grammar School, afterwards M.A. Br. Nos. Coll. Oxford, head master of Chester School, and vicar of Bolton, to Mr. Miles Popple, an under-graduate, Trin. College, Cambridge, afterwards M.A. and Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, vicar of Brading in the Isle of Wight.

We may add a conjecture that the latter gentleman was afterwards vicar of Welton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and the father of Miss Popple, whose writings for children, under the signature of "Miriam," are well known and highly prized. The imprint is "Manchester: Printed by J. Harrop, opposite the Exchange, 1777." The dedication is as follows:

* [For an account of Thomas Bancroft see p. 103, and of Miles Popple p. 131, of the first volume of the *Register of the Manchester Grammar School.* *The Poetical Correspondent* is omitted in the list of the former's works, p. 105. 1866.]

To the town of Manchester at large, and every gentleman and courteous reader therein, the following loose Sketches are most respectfully inscribed.

LETTER I.

*To Mr. ***** of Cambridge.*

Do you ask, my dear sir, why Mancunium so long
 With its streams and its plains has been silent in song;
 Why no bard ever touch'd on so fruitful a stream,
 Nor the Muse e'er design'd to exalt it to fame;
 *Why northward they journey, both round and beyond,
 Yet still reject ours for poetical ground?
 First, then, for a cause: Shall we judge it is air,
 Which, tho' clear from Dutch fogs, is not simple, nor rare,
 Such as that which pure genius wou'd chuse to inhale;
 For the gross breath of commerce has tinctur'd the gale?
 Hence the soul less refin'd becomes studious of self,
 Nor will lose in high flights the sure comforts of pelf.
 What are dreams upon Pindus, or drafts of its springs,
 To the joy, solid joy, which the compting-house brings?
 To proceed tho', the *Nine* must be call'd to our aid,
 The due forms be all kept, and just homage be paid.

INVOCATION.

If pray'rs be ever heard,
 In simple truth preferr'd,
 From lips inur'd to strains of antient lore;
 If hands engag'd in learned toils,
 Untutor'd yet in gainful wiles,
 Obtain with off'rings meet your all-inspiring pow'r,
 Oh! come, where'er ye wander,
 By brook, or smooth meander,

* The writer of the epistle desires that these and the subsequent lines be interpreted by the third and fourth, as he would by no means be thought to insinuate that Manchester had been barren in producing poets and men of learning; for the contrary might be evidenced by the mention of Dr. Byrom among the former, and among the latter, the antiquarian of Manchester [Whitaker], the editor of *Butler's Remains* [Thyer], and many others, who are at present distinguished as authors in their respective professions.

Near the fam'd banks of Liffy, Tweed, or Thames;
 I sue, nor let my suit be vain;
 Admit me of the scribbling train,
 Who dare to raise my notes to sing of Irwell's streams:

But is that lazy current the stream you approve,
 With contents so impregn'd that it scarcely can move?
 It is — and the waves, like Pactolus of old,
 Are surcharg'd with rich freights, no less useful than gold:
 We wish not for rills, that wou'd shine forth in song,
 Which flow idly, and pure, as the crystal, along.
 Yet — if scenes in reflection have charms for your eye,
 Such a scene wou'd philanthropy gaze on with joy:
 For, behold! in this mirror of dull, muddy hue,
 The full dwellings of Trade pictur'd out to the view.
 How the lines of tall structures embrace either side!
 How the stream at the sight seems to rein in its tide!
 See what throngs (still to cloath it in classical style)
 Of his sable-looking ministers lean o'er their toil!
 See the dye from their floats, which they wash o'er and o'er,
 Runs to tell sister-streams of our wealth and our pow'r.
 Methinks the wean'd fancy no more likes to rove
 By the drear, lonely brooks of the woodland and grove,
 Matted round with rude thickets, which hide them from day,
 And where none, save a poor love-sick swain, comes that way.
 Back home to Mancunium's dear seat it retires;
 For thoughts light as spring the gay prospect inspires.
 Plenty there with large hand is seen dealing her store,
 While a thousand hoarse tongues to her praises *encore*.
 Her servants around, for the signs of command,
 With cotton-wreaths twin'd bear the brown olive wand:
 These mark her behests—as they bid, there appear
 Busy movements of wheels whizzing loud thro' the air;
 Some at distance behind, in swift course to and fro,
 Thro' the loom shoot the shuttle, like shafts from a bow.

“ This is fustian, rank fustian,” I hear you exclaim;
 But be gentle, my friend, ere you damn it to fame.

For these "servants around," if the trope needs explaining,
 Are our tradesmen and merchants, in plain, honest meaning.
 Tho' 't is own'd, Plenty does not in person bestow,
 These are stew'rds of her will to her lab'ers below.
 Such are England's true patriots, her props, and her pride;
 They draw wealth from each state, while its wants are supply'd;
 To mankind all at large they are factors and friends,
 And their praise with their wares reach the world's farthest ends.
 Mancunium! and thine fill in part the glad strains,
 Which the bard rudely pours on the wild Russian plains.
 In thanks to thy sons the bleak north clad in snows
 Joins with those o'er whose head the sun furiously glows.
 Is it then, ye vain lordlings! ye treat us with scorn,
 Because titles and birth your own fortunes adorn?
 What worth to yourselves from high birth can accrue?
 Are your ancestors' glories entailed upon you?
 And is your lazy pomp of much use to a nation?
 Are not parks and wide lawns a refin'd devastation?
 But peace — 't is presumption — too much would demean 'em
 To hold converse with upstarts, *a vulgus profanum*.
 Their blood in pure currents thro' ages conveyed
 It were impious to taint with the contact of trade.
 When of old — but 't is time, for you tire of my lay,
 To subscribe — your devoted for ever and aye.

Adieu — then — Adieu.

Manchester, March —, 1777.

We may observe that in 1777 the town seems to have had a clearer atmosphere than it can now boast of; for few would now venture to say that in November and December Manchester is "clear from Dutch fogs."

LETTER II.

From the full, varied scenes of mix'd tumult and noise,
 'Midst the car's frequent roar, and retailer's shrill cries,
 From Mancunium again — and in hopes you'll attend her,
 The Muse humbly rests on your friendship and candour.

It is known, how at first infant commerce arose
 From the womb of contempt, sore oppress'd by her foes ;
 How to isles, rocks* and marshes, for refuge she fled,
 While the proud, savage Goth held the scourge o'er her head ;
 How the tyrants† that sway'd o'er the church and the schools,
 The poor wand'rer proscrib'd by decretals and rules.
 But at length (thanks to Heav'n) she is free'd from her thrall,
 And her weeds has thrown off, to reign empress o'er all.
 Yet her mansions in chief has she fix'd on our shore,
 Where freedom and justice maintain her in pow'r.
 See around — but around it were needless to roam ;
 For, the climax revers'd, we may look nearer home.
 Here her sons in high splendour, like great ones in state,
 From town house can jaunt to the neat rural seat,
 In whisky, calash, and what not — drive away,
 As they roll gaily on, all the cares of the day.
 For pleasure, for use, be the want what they please,
 Subscriptions of thousands with speed they can raise.
 For thy glory, Mancunium, these tributes are paid,
 To reform the strait plans which their forefathers laid,
 That thy streets may expand unobstructed to view,
 That with freedom the sweet, healthy breeze may blow through.
 I have heard you, dear — [Miles], say our town wanted spirit ;
 Recant — when are told you such works of true merit.
 Our walks — but the pen shall be silent on these ;
 For no censure it deals, where it likes to deal praise.

* The rocks and marshes here allude to the situations of Venice and the cities of Holland.

† Commercial transactions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were in general thought to be incompatible with Christianity. For we find in one of the acts of their councils this injunction upon the man of business, that he must decline all mercantile employment, if he will be admitted as a true penitent ; to which is added : "*Quæ sine peccatis agi ullâ ratione non pravalet.*" There are also decretals of the popes to the same purport, where they found their doctrine upon St. Luke : "Do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again." The schoolmen, who confounded lending money upon interest with usury, were led into the same opinion by Aristotle, who asserts in his politics, that money is barren, and therefore unnatural to suppose that it should beget money. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, book ii. chap. 30.

Yet let those who have wealth to empow'r their desires,
 Whose free, generous hearts a just judgment inspires,
 Proceed, and with taste perseverance combine,
 That no left-handed motive may mar the design ;
 That, as Fame trumpets forth how our structures increase,
 She may add, "All are form'd with due neatness and grace."

Here a thought by the way rose athwart on my mind,
 That full oft Fame has proved too unjust and unkind ;
 Full oft the base charge on Mancunium she threw,
 That she nursed the rank crimes of a false, rebel crew.
 From a few envious sons, who with partial dissection
 Inspected, explor'd every hint, word, and action,
 Fame learn'd the foul tale, which was *carefully* spread,
 While each tongue pour'd reproach on her poor patient head.
 These wounds were half heal'd, when detractors once more,
 Since our new civil broils, would have prob'd the old sore,
 But in truth with bad grace, for the crimes are their own,
 Whose republican hearts are the foes to a throne.
 Such are themes too unfit for my verse to pursue,
 Who to peace, happy peace, would direct every view ;
 For the Muse who will touch on these fine, fretful strings,
 Amidst parties, may fear lest she ruffle her wings.

"On trade and on wealth, why so long?" you complain ;
 "And as yet your fair beauties adorn not the strain."
 The complaint I admit, but alas! should I dare
 To depict the rich charms which are seen lavish'd here,
 Where crowds of bright nymphs in gradation would rise,
 Rever'd by all hearts and ador'd by all eyes,
 It were vain, when a bard whom the subject had fir'd,
 Whom the Nine all approv'd, and whom Phœbus inspir'd,
 Rais'd his notes to the task in a smooth, flowery song,
 While *waters** and *winds* mov'd in concert along.
 Such sublime at due distance content to admire,
 I resign all desires e'er to mount a pitch higher ;

* It is supposed by the editor, that in thus particularising the winds and waters, there was intended a reference to some high-flown apostrophe of the poet here celebrated.

Therefore beg you t' excuse this defect — and, in fine,
Am yours with *et cæteras*, to close up the line.

Adieu.

We learn from the above that Manchester's sons, in 1777, had their town houses and country seats, and kept their "whisky" or "calash." Now, the principal changes are in the discontinuance of the town house, and living altogether in the country; while the vehicles in vogue are the close carriage or coach, the *pilentum*, barouche, cabriolet, gig and drag. There is one respect in which what the poet wrote eighty years ago, is equally true of the inhabitants of Manchester of the present day:

For pleasure, for use, be the want what they please,
Subscriptions of thousands with speed they can raise.

While in another respect, the "silent pen" of the worthy usher, if it could again glide over the paper in numbers, would find an utterance in celebrating the public parks of Manchester. Indeed, the six lines beginning, "Yet let those who have wealth," &c., seem like a piece of prophetic advice to the public parks committee, given three score years before it was acted upon.

LETTER III.

No quill-driving scribe, in big hopes of a fee,
Scrawls thro' pages of parchment with half so much glee,
No tradesman pens out with more ardent career,
His receipts of full payment for debts in arrear,
Than the rhymester his lays — who pursues the sweet toil
Never tired, should you once glance assent with a smile.
In country, in town, he can cull a fit theme;
Here the noise of full streets, there a grove and a stream;
He rings thro' his chimes in a smooth, easy round,
While his own flatt'ring ears grow in love with the sound.
Many a Muse, my dear friend, in our more polish'd days,
Takes her airing thus drest in a suit of quaint phrase;
A la mode they are prank'd, and with vain empty pride
Exchange solid charms for a varnish'd outside:

Tho' I fear that for want of these charms they now shine
 In such fripp'ry and paint, like coquettes in decline.
 For too oft the half-learn'd, for the true classic vein
 Mistake the warm fancies which float in their brain;
 For each wight that can read, claims the talent to write,
 And in gay borrow'd plumes rashly steps into light.

Forward wits even here, — 'midst the tumult of trade
 In such arts, and in claims not unlike, have essay'd.
 In harangues they decide knotty points of debate,
 What might pose the deep sage, or the wise one in state;
 With the *ancient* they weigh *modern* worth in the scales,
 And can fix, by what surplus our balance prevails.
 Thus resolv'd — and with form the grand truths to proclaim,
 In the prints of the week they consign them to fame.
 But of late, when supplies for the pen largely flow'd,
 That the pert, barren scribbler might venture abroad,
 When amendments and plans were conceits in each head,
 Like a pest the *penchant* for composing was spread,
 And the Press, how it groan'd with its child-bearing throes,
 Constrain'd every poor, puny brat to disclose!
 Could I hope all were calm, and our wits liv'd at ease,
 With meet joy would I sing a soft dirge in their praise:
 Best then could I show the high meed they deserve;
 But till then from right reason the judgment would swerve.
 Till then let my still, slender voice be directed
 To applaud what in prudence and taste is projected.

From cares disengag'd, as I rove thro' the streets,
 Such as move the quick step of the crowds that one meets,
 How the heart with kind warmth teems enlarg'd at the view,
 While the eyes the gay scenes in due order pursue!
 What emotions rise up, as with fondness they trace
 Some improvement begun, or some new added grace!
 Social love gives the prospect these charms for the soul,
 Native zeal spreads the tints, and illumines the whole.
 'T were a vain, simple wish, which this zeal has inspir'd,
 That for wealth, as for arts, with its splendours admir'd,

Mancunium may rank, great Augusta! with thee,
 Tho' not perhaps as next, but in kindred degree.
 For advanc'd to full growth, when they pass o'er the line
 Nature wills that her works should haste on to decline.
 Riches then to the State prove the seeds of decay,
 And disorders more rife wear its vitals away.
 Mancunium! if e'er, from increase in thy trade,
 These effects shall be wrought — be the day long delay'd! —
 Ah! ne'er let thy wealth, once the friend of distress,
 Be the dupe of false pomp, or the slave of excess.
 But in chief, of that syren-like strumpet beware,
 Whom *Refinement* we call, with her gay modish air.
 Not a few, but her form sweetly-tempting has won;
 Not a few have her loose, easy doctrines undone.
 Slowly onward she saps, till each virtue is fled, —
 Then corruption sets in, to plant vice in their stead.
 Heav'n guard us from this! Better far, do I ween,
 That our old, gloomy woods were restored to the scene;
 That the whole in one dull, solemn stillness was laid.
 Save where some savage hut intermix'd with the shade.
Adieu.

Manchester in 1783.

WE condense the following facts from a little pamphlet of 94 pages, published in 1783, entitled, *A Description of Manchester &c., by a Native of the Town*, supposed to be a Mr. Lowe. (See *Chet. Lib. Cat.*, Addenda, No. 11,670.)

ANCIENT FOOTPATH. — The writer begins a perambulation of the town from Castle Field, and says there was formerly a footpath thence over the fields to the head of Tib Lane, now called Booth Street, which was an agreeable walk, till some tenants of the fields blocked up the styles; and there being then no Ancient Footpaths Protection Society, the footpath was lost to the public.

THE TIB, TIB LANE, &c. — The Tib, near the Bowling Green, falls into the Medlock. The part of the town about Tib Lane was formerly taken up by fustian-dyers' crofts, for the convenience of water issuing from the springs which served the Conduit, and from that [on the] rising ground left of Deansgate, called the Mount. Pits were made to each dye-house for the reception of this water, which, being generally below the surface, was raised with pump-trees by the Persian wheel; but these springs failing, and business increasing, the dyers generally settled on the banks of rivers. The Tib is now (1783) being converted into an underground drain by culverting it over, and is to receive the waste water from the reservoirs which supply the town with water by pipes. The Tib river, or ditch, in dry seasons was a nuisance, and in heavy rains sometimes overflowed the high road to Stockport, a little below the Infirmary, which was formerly the old boundary of the town, consisting of some houses, now rebuilt, on the right hand, to the entrance into High Street, where the space widens from the Meal Market.

THE HORSE POOL, &c. — Here there was formerly a pond called the Horse Pool, extending from the entrance to High Street to Mr. Dickiunson's house (the Palace Inn). A house and stable to the front, with the entrance to the Higher Swan stables (then the Saracen's Head), with a croft behind extending to the higher bars in Marsden Square, were let at five pounds per annum, and purchased according to that value, the land being first converted into a brick-croft, and then sold for building upon; since which time the buildings have extended all over High Street, Nicholas's Croft, and most of Sir Ashton Lever's fields, opposite the Infirmary.

TIB STREET: THE RESERVOIRS. — At the end of Lever's Row, where the Tib crosses the high road below the Infirmary, there was formerly a footpath, connecting with the roads to Ashton and Oldham, where the Tib was culverted over, but the old communication forms an irregular street [? Tib Street]. The cellars hereabouts have been sometimes overflowed by the weight of water coming this way, which has damaged or blown up the culvert; but the

communication between those reservoirs at the bottom of Newton Lane [Great Ancoats Street] and that opposite the Infirmary [the pond] was cut off, and another opened down Oldham Street, from the New Cross, which terminates in that upright jettee [? hydrant] opposite the front of the Infirmary; so that the water is not contaminated by the drains laid into it; nothing escaping this way but the waste water, when the principal reservoirs overflow in times of rain.

OLD WATER COURSES. — Before these reservoirs were made to serve the town with water, that body of water which occasionally swells the Tib, had its course down Shudehill, through Withy Grove and Hanging Ditch, receiving the soil and foul water of the town, which stagnated there; whence it passed under the Hanging Bridge, along the south boundary of the Collegiate Churchyard, into the Irwell. The bridge is yet in being, and houses are built on the old channel. Whether drains were made and the water turned over Lever's fields, to free the town from such a nuisance, *before* the reservoirs were made, or that contrivance took place on constructing them, we cannot determine; but certain it is, that the water outside Newton Lane, running down an easy descent for a good part of a mile, is intercepted by a bank, and turned into the reservoirs, together with that forced up by an engine near Ancoats, and nothing escapes but the waste water, by the conveyance above traced. These reservoirs communicate one with another to the head of Shudehill and Millers' Lane; from which names it may be conjectured that there was a mill formerly there, when the water came this way. The town has extended little on this quarter, and that chiefly on the right hand, coming up Shudehill.

INTENDED WORKHOUSE: CHORLTON RANT. — Millers' Lane communicates with Long Millgate and the road to Rochdale. On the left hand, at the descent to Millers' Lane, is a range of building which was long unfinished, till some families took possession, and have continued it as a species of alms-houses, though the materials and first erection are said to be yet unaccounted for. This build-

ing was reared and covered as one side of an intended quadrangle, wherein it was proposed to confine the poor, and set them to work upon divers branches of manufactory; with a power to punish them if idle or insolent, under an act of parliament which was intended to erect the town into a borough, and commit the government of it to a certain number of the principal inhabitants, to be named in the act; one-third of whom were to be High churchmen, another third Moderate [churchmen] in their principles, and the other third Dissenters. All parties at first came eagerly into the scheme, and this building was erected as a beginning, none doubting of the act being passed, as it was countenanced by the ministry at that time, in order to throw the government of the town into the hands of their friends. One of the High church party, however, who saw deeper than the rest, observed that they were giving the command of the town out of their own hands to the low party; as in every contest for power, the Dissenters and Moderate [church]men would divide against the High party. This observation at once opened the eyes of that party, and a counterpetition was procured with all dispatch against the bill, which prevented the scheme; and the High party had a meeting, which was continued yearly in a grand cavalcade to Chorlton [called in derision "The Chorlton Rant"] for the perpetuation of their triumph; but this is now discontinued. The building, being erected upon land belonging to the poor, was long unfinished, as nobody would engage for the payment.

ALMS-HOUSES, MILLERS' LANE: THE FIRST COTTON MILL.— Those alms-houses below, on the same side of Millers' Lane, have a Latin inscription of the founders' names and the date of the foundation.* On the right hand, opposite, is a firm-built and

* "In usum Mancunii pauperum erecta fuerant hæc domicilia annuentibus Irenarchis fidei commissoriis per curam præfectorum, Anno Domini 1680. Oswald Mosley, Armig. Jacobo Marler, gen. Jacobo Ratcliffe, gen. Ricardo Fox, gen. Samuel Dickinson, gen. Johanne Alexander, gen. Edward Bootle, gen. Humfredo Marler, gen. anno prædicto emancipatoribus." On a small house adjoining is inscribed: "The gift of John Green and Alexander his son, to the poor."

capital engine-house, in which the floor beams are all made to spring against their own length and the incumbent weight, by first sawing strong deal balks through the middle and letting in oak spars to spurn at obtuse angles upwards, the divided balks being then screwed together with iron pins, so as to resist the pressure above. Here it is that Mr. Arkwright's machines are setting to work (1783) by a steam-engine, for carding and spinning of cotton.

THE HIGHWAY, RED BANK.—Some houses have been newly erected on the rising ground beyond Scotland Bridge, by the road side, which was much steeper than at present, till it was lowered (rather injudiciously) at an expense too great for the highway-ley as it then stood; till the expedient was hit upon of summoning all housekeepers to statute-duty by the acts then in force, and accepting money, in commutation, which not only cleared off that arrear, but enabled the managers to make other improvements on the avenues leading into the town. The iron palisades round the reservoir at the Infirmary, and the footpath along it,—both too low at first,—were raised at great expense, and these, with the curbed paths of strong flags in several streets (which are increasing every year), besides the improved state of several avenues round the town, are the consequence of the fund arising from this highway commutation.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL MILLS.—Of the three mills on the Irk belonging to the Free Grammar School, the middlemost is appropriated to the grinding of malt; the highest is let for a corn-mill; and the lowest for a frize or fulling-mill, to which is annexed a snuff manufactory.

CHEETHAM'S LIBRARY, &c.—Humphrey Chetham, Esq., founded a Library, which is well furnished with books. These were formerly chained, and the public could have free admission to them at stated hours when the Library was open, observing those rules and behaviour in Latin, which are yet at the door. But the books are now unchained and enclosed in elegant cases, or classed under a proper order, and numbered so as to be easily

found on a reference to the catalogues. The resort of strangers to view the Hospital and Library, which contains some curiosities, is great, and sometimes interrupts students.

THE OLD HOUSE OF CORRECTION, HUNT'S BANK. — Adjoining to this Hospital is the House of Correction, which was lately rebuilt by order of the justices, whose names are at the front door, with that of the governor under whose directions it was rebuilt, at the charge of the Salford Hundred. The upper part is of brick, interlaced with oak spars, and hence very secure. The lower consists of cells cut in the rock, and aired by funnels connecting with the atmosphere. To these there is an iron gate of singular contrivance, to secure prisoners, upon locking-up, from any attempts upon the governor or his assistants. On the back-way to the prison, next the College, a dungeon has been made, upon the demolition of that heretofore upon the [old Salford] Bridge, when it was widened on that side, having been widened on the other some time before. The constables, who are head magistrates in this town, being then without a prison to confine offenders before examination, have here lower cells, very strong, with an upper prison. A guard-house for soldiers, over all, adds to the security of both these and the House of Correction.

THE NEW BAILEY BRIDGE: DEANSGATE, &c. — Deansgate is bounded by the Irwell, till the buildings extend on the right hand over the Parsonage Green, where St. Mary's Church has been erected. The buildings have increased in the vicinity of this church over most of the Dole Field, and along the river side, with little interruption, to the Quay for the Old Navigation on the Irwell. There is an opening left for a bridge [the New Bailey Bridge] over the river at the bottom of Dole Field, which is now building by subscription, the first stone being laid on Tuesday, May 6th, 1783. This bridge, when finished, may be deemed one of the best in England of two arches, and will greatly shorten the road from Warrington, Bolton, &c., to those parts of the town. This part of Deansgate [top of Bridge Street] was once nearly the extremity of building this way; some irregular streets about the

Quakers' Meeting-house [Jackson's Row] and Cupid's Alley excepted, which were then detached from the head of Deansgate. The erection of St. John's Church and the vicinity of the navigation, have greatly extended the buildings on that land.

CANAL TRAVELLING. — To Castle Field and the Quay the resort of genteel strangers is great at stated times, to take the benefit of the passage-barges on the canal, as pleasure or business invites them, to Warrington, Chester, Liverpool, &c.; or to see the lofty aqueduct over the Irwell [at Barton], and the admired subterranean navigation [the Levels, at Worsley].

ACRES FIELD AND ST. ANN'S SQUARE. — Before the erection of St. Ann's Church (begun in 1709) the buildings on that side did not extend beyond the entrance of St. Ann's Square, next the [old] Exchange; being bounded by a ditch and a large field, called the Acres, which the Lord of the Manor had a right to enter and occupy at the beast fair, on the feast of St. Matthew [old style] and the day preceding, yearly. The ditch, which almost surrounded this field, was a great nuisance, and the soil so trodden at the fair, being easily entered at other times as a place of exercise also, that the owner could neither occupy it himself, nor let it with advantage. He was at last advised to give land for a church at the upper end, and sell the rest for building; reserving the area of the Square for the lord's yearly fair, to which the owners of plots bought opposite had a full title all the year besides; and when the Lord of the Manor attempted to set up butchers' stalls there formerly, they [the butchers] were forced to quit the premises.

ST. ANN'S SQUARE AND ENTRANCES. — Upon the erection of this church, the town increased from the entrance of St. Ann's Square towards the Market Place, all that Square, with its environs, taking in the whole of Acres Field, King Street, Ridge Field, &c., Brazennose Street and Hulme's Street [? part of Ridge Field from Mulberry Street to Queen Street], with some buildings thereabouts, are all new erections, and St. Ann's Square is not of long standing. The communications to St. Ann's Church and Square

before the late alterations were made, were as bad as can be imagined. Before the present avenue [Exchange Street] was opened between St. Ann's Church and Square to the Exchange, the communications went under the old Coffee-house fronting the [old] Exchange, in a line with the corner shop towards Market Street Lane; that for carriages through a narrow gateway, which was further disgraced by a cobbler's stall; and over this, by narrow stairs in true garret style, there was one way to the old Coffee-house Rooms above; those below being let for shops. There was just room for passengers on foot to avoid carriages on the side to the stairs, by keeping in a line with them, and holding through the gateway as there was an opportunity. On the other hand there was a temporary retreat into the opening of the flagged path before the Dog Inn, then secured by a wall, or in the corner by the Goose Inn door, opposite the Exchange Coffee-house; but the difficulty of passing that corner [popularly named "Dangerous Corner"] was great, in a line of carriages, as an old building projected against it on the opposite side, and made it difficult to gain the direct opening this way to St. Ann's Square. The other communication from the Market Place for people on foot was through an entry which led to the great stairs of the Old Coffee-house, and across a small court, where a pump stood at the head of the only passage this way; which was so gloomy and dismal, even at noon-day, that it deservedly acquired the denomination of the "Dark Entry." Both this passage, and that from the Exchange, were intolerably dirty at some seasons of the year; and when the gloom of the Dark Entry was cheered with a little light from the sky at its exit towards the Square, an old building made a sharp angle with it, as incommodious as the pump at the other end. The town's-people, from a knowledge of this dark entry, made a pause at either end, if they heard any one had entered it by the other; for there was no seeing them, and when the passage was open, they pushed on in their turn. When the corner was cleared, and some traverses made past irregular buildings, this communication entered St. Ann's Square opposite the flags on the west side, by a

passage where there was formerly a turn-stile, which greatly incommoded people at a fair, or in a throng, to the diversion of unlucky boys; but this [turn-stile] was taken away some time before the late alterations. To open the present avenue, and widen the other streets connecting with the Market Place, there were some meetings of the inhabitants. All agreed to the making of the alterations proposed; but some were for raising money by tolls, to be taken at the main entrances to the town; others foresaw that this method would exasperate the market-people, and induce them to charge provisions higher; proposing, instead of tolls, to make a voluntary subscription. The latter proposal was carried, money subscribed, and an act of parliament procured, under the provisions of which the intended alterations are nearly finished.*

THE OLD EXCHANGE. — The [old] Exchange, before the opening from St. Ann's Square, appeared a heavy pile of buildings, from the confined points of view on every side of it. Now it has a good effect from the Square or St. Ann's Church, as a strong, regular, and well-executed piece of architecture. It was built at the expense of Sir Oswald Mosley, then Lord of the Manor, the lower part for chapmen to meet in and transact business; but they have generally preferred the Market Place before it for that purpose. Butchers' stalls were occasionally set up in it on market-days.

* The act of 16 Geo. III. cap. 63 (1776) was intituled "An Act for widening and improving several streets in the town of Manchester, and for opening new streets or passages within the said town." The Commissioners under this act were empowered to widen "The Old Millgate," and "St. Mary's Gate," and "to lay out a new street between the street on the southerly side of the Exchange and St. Ann's Square," and for that purpose to purchase such part of the buildings comprised in the first schedule, &c. If the money subscribed be more than would pay the expenses of such improvements, then the Commissioners were empowered "to widen the street at the southerly side of the Exchange between the ends of Market Street Lane and St. Mary's Gate;" "to enlarge Cateaton Street," and "the passage to Salford Bridge at both ends thereof;" "to open a new street between King Street and Deansgate," and "to widen the passage between High Street and Shudehill;" and for that purpose to purchase such part of the buildings comprised in the second schedule, &c. Two schedules enumerate lands and buildings liable to be taken for the purposes of this act.

The upper story is for a sessions room and manor courts ; having sometimes served for public exhibitions before the theatre and public concert room were erected.

PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT.—The old Theatre is now converted into a news-room and tavern, with a cotton-warehouse below ; the Assembly Room being continued yet above, which is large and elegantly finished. A patent has been procured for the new Theatre. The Concert Room is esteemed to be one of the best in England, for the convenient disposition of the seats, the elegance of its lustres, organ, &c.

SPRINGS : WATER.—Near the new Theatre and Concert Room, there were formerly some springs which supplied with water a Conduit, where the Exchange now stands. After some interruption, the water was again brought to the end of the Exchange towards St. Mary's Gate ; but it failed entirely, upon building over that land where the springs had been appropriated to serve the Conduit.

OPENING STREETS : THE NEW MARKET.—The opening of St. Mary's Gate, Cateaton Street, and the Old Milngate, have added greatly to the convenience of passengers, and to the beauty of the new erections. The improvements in Cateaton Street are now completed by taking down part of the building at the upper end of Old Milngate, and new fronting it to Cateaton Street. The Old Milngate, some years since, was only accounted a road on sufferance ; but it was so crowded with carriages [and carts] on a market-day, that it was dangerous to pass them ; and the Smithy Door, which was the proper road to Salford Bridge, being also wedged up with throngs meeting, like two opposite currents, there appeared to be yet a necessity of removing the market-people, either wholly or in part, to some other situation. These throngs, not only in this street, but about the Market-place, together with the great number of butchers' stalls set up in Market Street, led to the establishment of a new market. Two gentlemen (Mr. T. Chadwick and Mr. Holland Ackers) hazarded considerable property in this adventure. They purchased the Pool Court, and

Hyde Park, as most convenient for openings each way, the buildings being old, and for the most part cottages. When cleared, the whole area lay in a hollow. They made sufficient drains, and arched over the greater part, covering all over with strong flags, a little inclined to the drains. Here they erected substantial stalls for the butchers, and the market opened with great approbation and a concourse of buyers. Sir John Parker Mosley, then Lord of the Manor, commenced a suit [in the Court of King's Bench] for this infraction of his manorial rights, which was speedily decided in his favour; but such was the general inclination to continue this market, that he came to a compromise with the gentlemen named, for the purchase of the whole at a fixed price; the stalls to be finished on their plan, and the building ground about the area to continue at their disposal. [The new market in Pool Fold was opened July 28th, 1781, and it was discontinued in 1803.]

Manchester Academy, or New College.

THE following is an official report of the circumstances attending the removal of this institution from Warrington to Manchester. The report is dated August 9th, 1797, and it was printed in the then *Monthly Magazine* for August, 1797:

In the year 1786, several gentlemen of great respectability, who lamented the dissolution of the Warrington Academy, were solicitous to establish in this part of England, another Seminary of Education, on the same liberal and comprehensive plan; which might provide a complete and systematic course of studies for the sacred ministry among Dissenters, and be at the same time open to young men destined for other occupations or professions, without distinction of party, or of religious denomination, and exempt from every political test, and doctrinal subscription. On the proposal of this scheme to an enlightened public, it was honoured with a prompt and benignant patronage, proceeding from a just conviction of the high importance

to the general interests of learning, morality, and religion. Many of the trustees of the Warrington Academy adopted the undertaking, as a revival of that excellent institution; and the whole body, at their final meeting, testified their approbation of it by transferring for its support a large and valuable library, together with a moiety of their remaining funds.

Animated by these encouragements, the trustees of the New College erected an elegant pile of buildings, in an airy and pleasant part of Manchester,* for the accommodation of the professors, and the reception of the students; and it was presumed that the great populousness of the town and vicinage, the opulence of the inhabitants, the increasing taste for science, and the number and respectability of the Dissenters, would insure liberal contributions, and a permanent succession of pupils. Other local advantages also, of no inconsiderable weight, were deemed to belong to the situation thus chosen. The industry, ingenuity, and enterprising spirit which characterize the people of Manchester, it was supposed, might influence by example, and catch the minds of youth, by a secret and powerful sympathy: one of the largest public libraries in the kingdom subsists in the town, open to all visitors, at stated times: lectures by professional gentlemen, in chemistry, anatomy, physiology, and other branches of the healing art, are occasionally given, to which the students might superadd attendance on the hospital: able masters in French, Italian, music, writing, drawing, and merchants' accounts, are to be obtained: and these several means of improvement lie within such a compass, as to be perfectly compatible with each other.

The resignation of the Rev. Dr. Barnes, at the close of the next session, viz. Midsummer, 1798, is an event to which the trustees look forward with sincere regret, from a due sense of his eminent talents and active services. Difficult they know it will be to supply the important offices which he has sustained; but they are not without the prospect of a successor, whose manners are conciliating, who has been accustomed to the business of education, and whose character merits every eulogium as a scholar, a Christian, and a divine.

The Greek and Roman Classics, with other parts of Polite Literature, have of late been taught by Dr. Barnes. But a distinct professorship of

* On the westerly side of Mosley Street, between Bond Street and St. Peter's Square. The College buildings, which were deeply recessed, and inclosed within palisades, have been taken down this year (1866) and replaced by a pile of warehouses.

these essential branches of instruction formed the original constitution of the New College: and the trustees entertain a well-grounded expectation, that the liberality of its friends and supporters will speedily enable them to revive it. In the election of a person to a department so interesting to all classes of students, they will pay peculiar attention to the requisite qualifications; and will enquire, with assiduous care, for one distinguished by taste, genius, and erudition.

In the province of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry, Mr. Dalton has uniformly acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the trustees; and has been happy in possessing the respect and attachment of his pupils. It is hoped and presumed, that he will continue, with zeal and ardour, his scientific exertions; and that with the growing prosperity of the New College, he will enlarge his sphere of reputation and usefulness.

The following outlines will furnish the public with a brief statement of the extent and importance of the leading objects of this Academical Institution; which provides,

- I. A full and systematic course of education for divines.
- II. Preparatory instructions for youth designed for the other learned professions.
- III. A course of liberal education for those intended for civil and commercial life.

COURSE OF LECTURES.

I. Students designed for the ministry, whose regular course comprehends a term of five years, are instructed in the Latin and Greek Classics, in Hebrew and in French; in the several branches of Polite Literature; in Mathematics, together with Natural Philosophy and Chemistry; in Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy; in Theology, including the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of Christianity, Jewish Antiquities, and Ecclesiastical History. To these are added, Lectures on the Pastoral Charge; and through the whole course particular attention is paid to Scripture Criticism, Composition, and Elocution.

II. Students designed for the other learned professions, whose regular course ought to fill up three years, are instructed in the Latin and Greek Classics; in French; Mathematics; Natural Philosophy, theoretic and experimental; Chemistry; Polite Literature, comprehending the principles of Grammar (particularly the English); Oratory, Criticism, History, &c.; Moral Philosophy, including the elements of Jurisprudence; and in the Evidences and Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion. They are

also constantly exercised in acquiring the habits of elegant Composition and graceful Elocution.

III. Students intended for the departments of civil and commercial life, are instructed in the Classics; in Modern Languages; Mathematics, including Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, &c.; Natural Philosophy, theoretic and experimental; and in Chemistry: they also attend the course of Lectures on English and Universal Grammar, Geography, History, Criticism, Oratory, &c.; and on the history and general principles of Commerce; and, if their time permit, they are instructed in short systems of Logic and Moral Philosophy, together with a comprehensive view of the Evidences of Natural Religion and Christianity.

The ample course of instruction provided for the students in divinity, is from the ordinary charges of tuition; and exhibitions are either given or procured, to assist in defraying the general expenses of their education. Objections have been sometimes made to the union of the theological with the lay students in this seminary: but they apply, if admissible, to the several colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, to those of Scotland and Ireland, to all the old academical establishments in other parts of Europe, and to the modern ones in America. Some inconveniences or mortifications may, indeed, be occasionally experienced, in the intercourse between young men of narrow fortune, and such as have been accustomed to the indulgences of affluence. But the evils alluded to are slight in their nature, and proper to be overcome at an early period, by those to whom they will be necessarily incident through the whole of life: and in an institution containing pupils of various gradations in rank and wealth, and which limits within a narrow compass the expenditure of each individual, a liberal system of economy may be acquired by all, adapted no less to society at large, than to the present little community of which they are members. The same happy union, also, will tend to wear off the rust of pedantry; to restrain the petulance of disputation; to communicate urbanity of manners, and to furnish the juvenile theologian with what no scholastic recluse can attain, an insight into the human heart, whilst open and undisguised, and a developement of the genuine traits of human character, in the first rudiments of all its diversified talents and energies. To the lay-students the young divines may be peculiarly useful, by offering examples of diligence, strict discipline, and sobriety; by aiding them in the pursuits of learning; and even by officiating to them, when required and properly compensated, as sub-preceptors, a practice established in both our universities.

Such is the nature and design of the Academical Institution which now claims the attention and patronage of the public. The annual contribution of a few hundred pounds will afford funds adequate to its support : whilst the benefits which it promises to society are beyond pecuniary appreciation. To unfold the powers of genius, consigned, perhaps, without the aid of early culture, to perish in the bud ; to call forth from obscurity "some mute inglorious Milton ;" and to educe the latent talents, it may be, of a future Bacon or Boyle, a Locke or Newton, an Addison or Somers, a Clark or Butler, is to adorn, instruct, and to meliorate the age : it is, indeed to elevate the condition of humanity. Even the milder lights of science, kindled in less distinguished minds, may promote, wherever they are diffused, the refinement of the arts, the polish of manners, and the increase of truth, wisdom, and virtue. "Education," says Lord Verulam, "is, in effect, but an early custom. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom conjoined and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth : so that in such places the force of custom is in its exaltation."

The New College in Manchester is under the direction of trustees ; *i.e.* of all who are benefactors of twenty guineas and upwards, or annual subscribers of two guineas and upwards. The trustees meet yearly, and appoint a committee for the transaction of the ordinary business which occurs. The present committee consists of the following members :

Thomas Percival, M.D., F.R.S., &c., *Chairman.*

James Touchet, Esq., *Treasurer.* Mr. George Duckworth, *Secretary.*

Mr. James Bayley,

Mr. Samuel Marsland,

Mr. Ashworth Clegg,

Samuel Jones, Esq.

Mr. Robert Grimshaw,

Mr. Robert Robinson,

Rev. William Hassal,

Mr. Thomas Henry, F.R.S.

Rev. R. Harrison,

Mr. Jonathan Hatfield,

John Potter, Esq.

William Jones, Esq.

Mr. Richard Potter,

Mr. Benjamin Potter,

Mr. Thomas Robinson,

John Philips, Esq.

William Rigby, Esq.

Robert Philips, Esq.

Benefactions and subscriptions will be received by the treasurer, or by any member of the committee. N.B. The committee have been instructed by the trustees, to have a special reference, in the choice of Dr. Barnes's successors, to their capacity and willingness to receive students into their families, as boarders.

*Recollections of the Manchester Academy,
its Tutors and Students.*

(BY THE LATE JOHN MOORE, ESQ., F.L.S.)

DR. BARNES, the principal of the Academy, and minister of Cross Street Chapel, was very kind to the poor; and I used to take his benevolent cheques to be cashed at the bank of Messrs. Jones, Loyd and Co. Dr. Barnes was particularly kind and considerate towards poor widows of his congregation who had young sons. He looked after the boys, saw that they were educated, got them situations, and was never more delighted than when he could refer to any one doing well and becoming respected in the world, whom he had in this way assisted to commence life.

Mr. Lewis Loyd, then a dissenting minister, who preached at Dob Lane Chapel, was the tutor for Belles Lettres, &c., in the Manchester Academy. At Dob Lane he frequently met a Mr. Taylor, father of Colonel Taylor, of Moston, whose chief talk was of making money; and it is not improbable that the first bent of Mr. Loyd towards his subsequent banking pursuits, was insensibly acquired in his long and frequent conversations with Mr. Taylor. He married Miss Jones, and was then taken a partner in the bank in King Street. I well recollect taking one of Dr. Barnes's cheques there to be cashed, and to my surprise, seeing there my quondam tutor (who, while a minister, always wore black) dressed in a coat almost white. He said to me jocularly, "You see I have quite changed my colours now."

The mathematical tutor of the Academy, at this period, was Dr. Dalton, afterwards so celebrated as a chemist, and as the propounder of the law of definite proportions, or the atomic theory. He was a very quiet teacher.

At the time that I was a student at the Academy, it was not unusual for wealthy foreigners to send their sons there, and some of these youths had such ample, nay, such extravagant, allowance

of pocket money, that they were enabled to enter into various pieces of mischief, of folly, and of dissipation; which, as he found himself unable altogether to prevent them, greatly distressed the good Dr. Barnes. One of the students who frequently transgressed in this way was ———, a son of Admiral ———. This youth was remarkable for great natural powers of mind. He was much beloved amongst his fellow students, but he was always rushing into some foolish escapade, and was frequently threatened with expulsion. On one occasion, I recollect, he was to present a theme on some given subject, and an hour before the time of being called upon for that purpose, he had not written a line. I spoke seriously to him, and told him the consequence would be his disgrace and severe punishment, probably expulsion. I locked him up in my room, and at the end of the hour I had the great satisfaction to find that he had produced a beautiful English composition on the subject, bearing no marks of the haste in which it had been written. At length his mischievous and foolish tricks led him into some affair so objectionable to the wholesome discipline of the Academy, that he was formally expelled, together with two or three divinity students, who had shared in his folly. I went to the Bridgewater Hotel to see him off by the coach, and he then said he dared not to go home; he was sure his father would not forgive him; and he had therefore determined, until his father's anger had blown over, to go to some relatives in another part of the country. We shook hands, having been great chums and friends, and parted; and for some time I heard nothing more of my fellow-student. At length when in London, on my way to Paris, just prior to the coronation of Charles X., I called at the banking-house of Messrs. Jones, Loyd and Co., and there saw my quondam tutor, Mr. Loyd, who, after the usual greetings, said: "Oh, why did you not call yesterday? What do you think I found here on my desk yesterday, on coming to the bank? The card of Brigadier-General ———, no other than your old friend of the Academy; a fine handsome fellow, who has just left London on a visit to his friend and gallant foe, the Commandant of Calais; where I

dare say, if you are going to France, you will find him." It seems they had met as foes, and afterwards felt a mutual respect and esteem, one fruit of which, the two countries being then at peace, was the acceptance by the British Brigadier-General of the invitation of his friend the French Commandant. At Calais I inquired for my old fellow-student, but found that he had gone on to Paris. There I heard of him several times, but failed to find him; and at length I ascertained that he had gone off to Belgium to look after some business matters there. He subsequently proceeded to the Ionian Islands, where he became second in command, and was generally considered, for his striking military talents, as one of the most rising young men in the service. He came over to this country on a visit to a relative; and, after taking a walk in the grounds, went to dress for dinner; but as he did not come down stairs after the dinner bell had rung, a servant went up to his room and found him lying dead on the bed, having expired of an apoplectic attack.

Another student of the Manchester Academy, whose military talents advanced him to still higher rank in the service of his country, was the celebrated Marshal Mortier. He was the son of a merchant at Lyons, who, being desirous that his son should acquire an insight into the English methods of manufacturing and of doing business, sent him over to Manchester, and he was placed in the Academy, but some time before I entered it. It has been erroneously stated that Mortier was a clerk in the house of Messrs. Sylvester and Co., and Colonel Sylvester (of the Volunteers) has been mentioned in connection with him. But it was the Colonel's brother with whom Mortier was intimate, and there was no commercial connection whatever, — nothing but personal friendship between them. It is supposed, however, that Mortier was for a short time in more than one Manchester house; not, however, as a clerk, but as a young gentleman seeking to obtain information as to their modes of doing business. Another of Mortier's intimate Manchester friends was Charles Brandt, the father of the barrister. Mortier, however, did not remain long in Manchester;

but returned to France when the war broke out. He joined the army, where his military talents led to his rapid rise, now a matter of history. It is to his honour that, learning, after he had risen to a high military rank, that his old friend James S—— was in embarrassed circumstances, he wrote to him; intimating that he could never forget his friendship while in Manchester, and (it is believed) sent him some substantial present, to enable him to improve his fortunes.*

* The following anecdote of Mortier is from another source, and therefore is given here, as the text is wholly from the narration of worthy John Moore:—I knew a young man named Wild, in the Volunteers, a very modest, shy lad; but he afterwards joined the army, rose by merit and became lieutenant. He was with the British army in Spain, where he was appointed adjutant of the 29th regiment, and was in that slaughtering affair,—I think Salamanca,—where Colonel White was shot; Wild being wounded at the same time. Colonel White became delirious from the effects of the wound, and as he was being carried to the rear he began singing. The Duke of Wellington passing at the same time, stopped, and when he saw poor White's condition, tears came into the eyes of the man who has been called "The Iron Duke." Subsequently, Wild being at an outpost, was taken prisoner with some of his men, by the French troops, and they were marched up the country. The officers were very civil to Wild, and, as it was their custom to march at the head of their men, in order to avoid the dust, they invited him to join them. After some days' march they reached head quarters, and on reporting themselves, received the honour of an invitation to dine with Marshal Mortier, then commanding a garrison town. The invitation contained the words, "Bring your English prisoner with you." Poor Wild was in no plight to dine with a Marshal of France; but his captors were most considerately kind. One lent him a shirt; another some other article of attire; and by their courteous aid he found himself at length presentable. The dinner was *recherché*, everything *en grande règle*; and at length, after coffee, the guests rose to retire. The Marshal requested them to leave their prisoner with him; and when the French officers had withdrawn, Wild was astonished to hear himself addressed in plain English: "Well, and where do you come from?" His reply was, "From beyond Rochdale, in Lancashire." "Well, and how's Dick Crompton?" In this familiar style Mortier chatted with his astonished guest, naming Smithy Door and other well-remembered localities, and appearing much amused to learn that his old acquaintance, Dick Crompton, was then town major of Lisbon. After a pleasant conversation on Lancashire men and places, Wild was re-conducted to his quarters, and remained some time in prison. He succeeded, with the aid of a kindly girl, in effecting his escape, and long rambled about the country, with various hair-breadth escapes, till at length, by the aid of friendly contrabandists, he made his way back to the head quarters of the British army. After attaining a captaincy he was placed on half pay;

Another student at the Manchester Academy, at a period somewhat later than Mortier, or even than myself, was Samuel Hibbert, now Dr. Hibbert-Ware, the historian of *The Foundations of Manchester*. He tells me that he is the surviving representative and head of the house of La Warre; being the great-great-great-grandson of Sir James Ware, the historian of Ireland, who was descended from the La Warres, as shown by Harris, by Betham (who gives Dr. Hibbert-Ware the arms of Sir James), by Lodge, Burke, &c. Sir James was a maternal ancestor, and the doctor's mother, who, to use his own expression, was "very family-proud," wished him to take the additional surname of Ware, which he did about ten years ago (in 1838). But he has since repeatedly expressed his wish that he had never done so; preferring his paternal name of Hibbert, which he says is also distinguished in literature. It is not a little remarkable that it should have been reserved for a lineal descendant or representative of Thomas la Warre, the twelfth baron and last rector of Manchester, first to rescue from oblivion and publish to the world the honourable motives which induced that distinguished man to collegiate the parish church of Manchester, alienating it from his own successors the temporal barons, and doing all that a man could to make it an establishment promotive of the spiritual good of the parish at large.

returned to Manchester; took the White Lion, Long Millgate; and subsequently went to keep what were then called Tinker's Gardens, Collyhurst. He married a very beautiful girl, who did not assist him in the inn; all went wrong; and poor Wild was taken as a debtor to Lancaster Castle. Hearing a bell ring in the evening, he asked what it was, and was told that it was the time for the prisoners to be locked up. He fell down, and expired on the spot. — Dick Crompton became Captain Crompton, and on my telling him about Mortier asking after him, he said, "Oh, I knew Mortier very well in Manchester." Captain Crompton was presented at Court, and it is said some halfpence dropped from his pocket in the royal presence. But the same story has been told of Sir Ralph Pendlebury. Marshal Mortier, Duc de Treviso, perished on the 28th July, 1835, by Fieschi's infernal machine, levelled at Louis Philippe and his sons, on the Boulevard du Temple, when upwards of forty persons were killed or injured. Mortier was shot dead on the spot.

Recollections of Manchester, 1808-1830.

The following communication was sent to the Editor in 1849, by an anonymous correspondent, under the initials "G. H. F.," embodying his own recollections of Manchester, its men, matters and places, during twenty-two of the early years of the nineteenth century:

COMMENCING with the Collegiate Church, its yard was at that period bounded by a wall of red sandstone, only three to four feet high; in part capped by a rounded coping, as may yet be seen between the Mitre Inn and Hanging Bridge. The remainder of the coping was a sharp ridging, and it was the sport of the boys of the neighbourhood to "set craddies" [*i.e.* difficult feats] by running on the pointed ridge of this wall, where of course it was difficult long to maintain one's equilibrium. It was this practice which so much annoyed the late Rev. Joshua Brookes, and gave rise to the well-known and humorous caricature of the rev. chaplain and the chimney sweep. Our correspondent says that eccentric as this worthy was, short in temper and hasty in expression, his was no vicious nature; he was a thoroughly honest and good-hearted man. His father, a crippled cobbler of exceedingly irritable and irascible disposition, was a great angler; and having once obtained permission to fish in the pond of Strangeways Hall, he took shelter, like the cynical Diogenes of old, in a tub. He had a hogshead placed in the field near the pond, and in this hogshead he frequently spent whole nights in his favourite piscatorial pursuit. This pond is now being filled up in order to carry a street over its site. Joshua, after obtaining the chaplaincy, maintained his father for many years, till the death of the old man. In the last illness of Joshua himself, the following display of his peculiar temper occurred, as narrated by the then clerk of the Collegiate Church. Poor Joshua, who had wholly lost the sight of one eye, had remained motionless during the greater part of one day, apparently taking no notice of anything that was passing

around him, when the clerk called to see how he was. Joshua's housekeeper having taken the clerk into her master's chamber, said, "Robert, we think he has lost the sight of the other eye." Robert took the candle, and, after duly scrutinising the other eye, expressed his concurrence in the housekeeper's opinion; but, to their no small astonishment, the dying man, in his usual loud tones and testy manner, exclaimed, "Thou'rt a liar, Bob; thou'rt a liar, Bob." A few days after both eyes were certainly closed in death. Previous to the churchyard being surrounded by the present iron palisading, there were several entrances into it by wooden gates, one of which was opposite the Rev. N. Germon's house, and the stumps of this gate were only removed last summer, when the road of the old Apple Market was widened by taking into it a portion of the churchyard. Another of these gates was in Half Street, near Cateaton Street; it was called "Clap Gate," being made of strong oak, and so hung, that if left open it would close by its own weight, "clapping" heavily. There was then no entry to what is now called Church Gates, at the upper end of Old Millgate, where there is now the principal entrance. A range of shops on that side of the yard covered the site of the present south entrance; the great entrance on that side (prior to the churchyard being enclosed) being by a gate from Hanging Bridge. At that time the whole of the churchyard, from being surrounded only by a low wall, with decayed wooden gates, was quite open, and a great thoroughfare. Our correspondent once saw a man on horseback, like a farmer, enter the churchyard from Long Millgate, and ride through it. Nor was it uncommon (as may be seen from the old Court Leet entries), in days when swine roamed the streets at large, to see a pig or two routing in the churchyard. But at length any one finding pigs there, and driving them to the Pinfold (which was near the site of the present Rising Sun Inn, at the top of Shudehill) received one shilling, which the owner was compelled to pay on claiming the stray animal.

Our correspondent describes the range of buildings on the west side of the churchyard next the river; they were built on the rock.

Opposite the steeple was the Ring-o'-Bells public-house; then north of it a few cottages; next to them The Black-a-Moor's Head public-house; beyond it some more houses; a third public-house, The Flying Horse; followed by another range of houses and cottages, terminating in the soapery and chandlery house of Messrs. Fogg, Birch, and Hampson. From the building adjoining the Ring-o'-Bells was an unsightly piece of waste ground, shelving down from the yard to the river. This was called Tin Brow; it was a favourite place down which to shoot rubbish, and even human bones from the adjacent churchyard. About 1811, in consequence of the graves being overfilled, and there being much demand for space for interments, the sexton of that day was accustomed to excavate graves that had been long undisturbed, and throw the osseous remains of their departed tenants, with the fragments of half-decayed coffins, down Tin Brow into the river, especially in seasons of flood, which speedily washed these relics away. At length, however, public decency was outraged by this practice, and by the swinish visits to the churchyard, and it was determined that it should be set apart and environed by palisades, as it now is. In one of the cottages which overhung the river, lived a cabinet maker, who frequently at night threw baited lines into the river under his yard wall, and in the morning obtained a supply of eels sufficient for his family's dinner, keeping some of them alive in a tub for a day or two, till wanted. The plot of ground next the river, from the railway bridge to the Strangeways iron bridge, was then a field called Waterworth's Field, from its occupier, who had some stables at the back of a row of houses near the river, with only a cart road between them and the river Irk. At the corner of this field, at the confluence of the Irwell and the Irk, our correspondent has often seen an old man fishing for eels with rod and line. He wore a pigtail, and was the last person in Manchester who wore that now obsolete appendage, with the exception of Mr. Greason, who once kept the Eagle and Child Inn, at the Temple, Cheetham Hill. This last pigtail has been laid in the ground little more than ten years.

In those days there was a lovely walk from the Hunt's Bank Bridge, by the river Irk, to the Corn Mills, near Scotland Bridge; and in summer time, our correspondent says, he has frequently waded bare-legged in the stream of the Irk, and caught small fish, which the lads called Jack Sharps, Tommy Loaches, and Snigs; for the stream, now dirty and offensive, was then pure and clear. The space from Hunt's Bank Bridge, by the river Irk, to the wooden bridge at the town mills (for corn) was called Walkers' Croft. It occupied the site of the present burial ground and part of the Victoria Railway Station. It was then covered by a row of cottages, occupied by laundresses, having nice gardens and ground for bleaching the linen. Early on Sunday mornings in summer, these gardens were visited by factory operatives and artisans, to purchase "a penny posy," as is now the custom of this class at Cheetwood and in other suburbs.

The Apple Market was then rightly named, from its use. On Saturdays it was thickly studded with hogsheads of apples and pears, not only from the neighbouring farmers, but from the orchards of Worcestershire and Herefordshire. As population and trade increased, the market extended from the Packhorse and up Fennel Street, till even this elongation falling short of the necessity of the public, the fruit market was removed up Shudehill, to the site opposite the Mosley Arms, now occupied as the market for oranges, nuts, and foreign fruit. Fennel Street was the original corn market for Manchester; and over one of the windows of the present Dog and Partridge Inn is a bell, properly hung, screened by a weather-board, with a chain attached, by which to ring it, at the opening and closing of the corn market. Indeed it is still rung (by one of the inmates of the house) at ten o'clock every Saturday morning, when the market is then considered to be duly opened. The lord of the manor used to take toll on every sack of wheat, oats, &c., there offered for sale.

While in this neighbourhood let us record the ancient Easter sports of the Grammar School boys. On Easter Monday the senior scholars had a treat and various festivities. On the morn-

ing of that day, masters and scholars assembled in the school-room, with a band of music, banners, &c. One essential thing was a target, in a square frame, to which was suspended one or more pairs of silver buckles, constituting the chief archery prize,—the second being a good dunghill cock. These were the only prizes, and they were duly contended for by the scholars, the whole being probably devised in the old times, with a view to keep the youth of Manchester in the practice of the old English archery, which on the invention of gunpowder and fire arms, fell rapidly into desuetude. The gay procession thus provided, the scholars bearing their bows and arrows, set out from the Grammar School, headed by some reverend gentlemen of the Collegiate Church, by the masters of the school, the churchwardens, &c. (the band playing some popular airs of the day), and took its route by Long Millgate to Hunt's Bank, and along Walker's Croft to the gardens already noticed, where the targets were set up, and the "artillery practice" (as it was the fashion to call archery) commenced. At its close the prizes were awarded, and the procession returned in the same order, along Hunt's Bank, the Apple Market, Fennel Street, Hanging Ditch, and Old Millgate, to the Bull's Head Inn, Market Place (in those days a very celebrated house), where the junior boys were treated with "fermenty" [frumenty]—wheat stewed, and then boiled in milk with raisins, currants, and spices, till it forms a thick porridge-like mess, exceedingly palatable to young folk. The masters and assistants, and senior scholars, partook of roast beef, plum pudding, &c. The abolition of this custom, said to be by Dr. Smith, was by no means relished by the Grammar School boys.

Another amusement was in those days afforded to boys and girls, and servants, by a few spirited and fun-loving individuals, during the period of the Salford Whitsuntide fair. This fair was held on the Salford side of the river, between the mill of Messrs. Collier and Co. and the [now] Victoria Bridge, on the low ground called Stanyhurst; and here, during the fair, were swing-boats, flying-boxes, merry-go-rounds, and other stock machinery of fair

pastimes. This was the point of embarkation for the "pleasure trip." A good-sized boat was provided, with a windlass at its bow, the rope attached to which at one end had its other fastened to a stake driven into the ground at the corner of Waterworth's Field, on the other side the river, near Hunt's Bank Bridge. When the living and laughter-loving freight was embarked, the vessel started on its voyage of pleasure up the river; needing neither sail nor oar, the rope being wound up by the windlass, till the boat reached its destination near the mouth of the Irk. This boat would hold some scores of passengers, and seldom started without its full complement of river-cruisers, who regarded this as a very pleasant and romantic trip. The Manchester bank of the river had then a very different appearance. The red sandstone rock projected here and there, and the public-houses and cottages above described, seemed perilously perched on the rock, so as to overhang the river at a considerable height above the water, while above all towered the venerable steeple of the Collegiate Church. All this, with a band of music (for, being war time the recruiting parties had their bands), and the "hurrahs" of the voyagers, echoed and responded to from both banks of the river, gave ample enjoyment and excitement "for the small charge of one penny."

During these times, recruiting was extensively and successfully carried on in Manchester; and our correspondent believes that as many as from one hundred to one hundred and fifty recruits were monthly sent from this town to the various regiments. The marines also sent away monthly some scores of recruits. It was usual for the different corps to make a general muster two or three days previously to the recruits being sent off to Chatham, &c., and on these occasions from one hundred to two hundred of the raw recruits were paraded through the principal streets with military music, by way of farewell. On such occasions the procession included several bands of music; being usually headed by a number of sergeants, six or eight abreast, in full regimentals; then one hundred and fifty to two hundred young men, the

recruits, with cockades and ribbons streaming in the breeze; more bands of music, and the rear, consisting of a number of corporals and privates of the different recruiting parties, in marching order. At that time a large bounty was given, some receiving as much as sixteen guineas each on enlisting,—a portion of which, however, was reserved for the soldier's outfit. Still, there remained a large balance to spend, and this led to much drunkenness, disorder, and immorality. The late Mr. Mellor, druggist, of Withy Grove, who was usually called "Old Doctor Mellor," had the privilege of measuring and examining all the recruits enlisted here, receiving one shilling for each,—a very good thing in those days, for some thousands must have passed under his standard. Amongst the military rendezvous of the recruiting parties of that day were the Seven Stars public-house, Shudehill, and the area of St. Ann's Square, where the processions referred to usually formed, and thence proceeded up Market Street Lane, as it was truly called, being then an exceedingly narrow and inconvenient thoroughfare. These were very exciting affairs, and not altogether gay and joyous; for mothers, sisters, and sweethearts were there, to take a lingering look, to bid a last farewell. Generally the bands played, "Farewell, Manchester," an air then well known, but now almost forgotten; and amidst martial music, fluttering flags, gay ribbons, and cheers from the crowd, many a mother's heart was sad, many a maiden shed tears of sorrow, as she looked with anguish on the youth whom she should never see again,—who amidst all this decoration for the sacrifice, was fated to leave his bones to whiten on some foreign shore.

So much for "the regulars." Let us not forget "the Manchester Volunteers,"—of which many regiments were raised here. By volunteering into this corps, the young men became exempt from being balloted for the militia. True, they received no pay, even when out on duty; but their military equipment was provided for them, and it was a favourite mode with many of playing at soldiers. It was usual to muster them for parade and exercise

one or two days a week; and on Sunday afternoon, after divine service, it was the custom to exercise them on the Piccadilly flags, in front of the Infirmary Pond. When formed in line, and in open order, they extended to a considerable distance, and looked well. The bands playing, and the military display of these theretofore peaceable inhabitants, usually attracted large crowds of their friends and neighbours, to see, to criticise, to quiz, and to laugh at, some of the awkward attempts at military evolutions, perpetrated by these doughty volunteers. Our correspondent well recollects one of these amusing displays. He says that in the centre of the line, which would be opposite the end of Oldham Street, in the middle of the road, stood the fugleman, to "suit the action to the word," as Adjutant Oakey thundered out the word of command; and the extraordinary and grotesque action and attitudes of the subordinate provoked loud laughter then, and even now excite a smile at the recollection. An anecdote related by Mr. A. (himself one of the valiant volunteers of those days), may convey some idea of the sort of discipline maintained in, and the spirit manifested by, these renowned corps. One day his regiment was out for drill and exercise, in St. George's Fields (now either brick-crofts or covered with houses), when, in the course of the parade, the word was given to "ground arms," which was obeyed by the corps to a man, with the sole exception of Mr. A., who, of course, after parade, was duly reported to his captain. That officer proceeded to call him to account for his neglect or disobedience of orders; and something like the following dialogue ensued between the captain and private A.: Captain: Well, private A., when on duty to-day and the order was given to ground arms, did you hear the order? Private: Yes, captain, I did. Captain: Well, you did not obey the order. What explanation have you to give? Private: Captain, are we not volunteers? Captain: Certainly we are. Private: Then, captain, having volunteered my services for the defence of my country, if required, I shall prepare by learning my discipline for that purpose; but, sir, having once taken up arms, I shall

never learn to ground them, except compelled by death or conquest! "Call you that nothing, Master Brooke?"

Once or twice during the summer, the Manchester Volunteers had what was called a field day, when they were inspected and reviewed on Kersal Moor, or on some other area in or near the town. Having assembled one day, our correspondent thinks it was in St. Ann's Square, they marched along Hunt's Bank, a narrow contracted passage in those days, and as the gallant volunteers slowly marched past the soapery and chandlery establishment before mentioned, it was in a somewhat malicious spirit of mischief and fun that the soap-boilers stirred up the contents of their offensive cauldrons, or threw over the fire some refuse fat, &c., which produced a most offensive stench, bringing tears into the eyes, handkerchiefs to the noses, and oaths to the lips of the gallant volunteers; while the poor band could scarcely find breath to fill their instruments, so nauseating was the effect of the fumes of burning and putrefying animal matter. Adjutant Oakey, already named, kept a public-house, and one morning, when the regiment were out on duty, his slumbers were suddenly disturbed by what he deemed loud and repeated calls for "Oakey." Half awake, he sprang out of bed, and threw open the window, in order to answer the call, and then discovered to his confusion and chagrin, that the supposed military call was neither more nor less than the braying of a donkey under his window!

Our correspondent says that an old man once told him that when he was a youth, probably sixty-five or seventy years ago, he was accustomed to play with other boys at the "daub holes," or clay pits, on the site of the pond in front of the Manchester Royal Infirmary; for these were excavations for clay for making bricks, like those in some of the outskirts of the town at the present day. When it was proposed to build the Infirmary on its present site, the Mosley family gave "the daub holes" site for the purpose of forming a pond, and (as our correspondent states), upon the express condition that it should be so used and applied for ever, and that should the trustees of the Infirmary ever seek to change

that purpose, or desire to give up the land thus granted, in either such case it should revert to the Mosley family. How this may be we know not; but we should think that, if it be determined to fill up the pond, and lay out its site in public walks, open to the inhabitants generally, no existing representative of the Mosley family would so insist upon "the letter of the bond" (if any such conditions exist), as to object to an appropriation of the land in accordance with the spirit in which it was originally given, to a purpose far more beneficial to the public than that of keeping it as a sheet of water, too often made a mere receptacle for the bodies of dead dogs and cats, and other animal matters, in a state of decomposition. [It has since been converted into a flagged space, named the Infirmary Esplanade.]

The river Tib, as previously stated, was actually stopped in its course by a cabbage-stalk! Some years ago, our present correspondent says, in one of his summer evening rambles, he found himself in a sort of relic of a farm-yard, at the back of the present St. George's School, Miles Platting. In this yard there was a small pond for watering horses and cattle. This pond, he was told, was principally supplied by a spring, which overflowed during heavy rains; and this was the source of the river Tib. In its course thence, down Oldham Road, the various contributions it received from tributary rills, &c., so swelled its stream, that occasionally the cellars on that side of Oldham Road, near Miles Platting, were flooded in consequence; this being, of course, anterior to the formation of the town's sewers. The Tib, after taking its way down Oldham Road, ran along Tib Street (to which it gave its name) and across Church Street, through, or under, a cellar, covered by a trap-door, which our correspondent has often lifted, and bathed his feet in the river Tib. Thence it flowed down the lower part of Tib Street, across Market Street, and under a part of the premises of the [late] Talbot Inn, as previously described, and so on to Old Garratt, where it emptied itself into the Medlock.

Our correspondent recollects the Market Place when it had a

very different appearance from its present one. Where the [late] Fish Market now stands was then the butchers' market, or, as it was more usually called the Old Shambles. Nearly opposite the Bull's Head the pillory was occasionally erected, for the punishment of wrong-doers. It consisted of a strong post, about twenty feet high, with four stays at its insertion into the ground, to support it. About ten feet from the ground was a circular stage or platform, large enough to allow several persons to stand on it. Four or five feet above this was fixed across the post, horizontally, a board about five feet long and eighteen inches deep, and in this cross-piece were three holes or apertures, the largest and most central for the head, and the other two for the hands or wrists of the offender. Locked fast in these holes, his feet on the stage below, and unable to move his head, the pilloried offender stood for the prescribed time, to endure not only the jeers and laughter of the bystanders, or their angry revilings, but the more substantial, painful, and ignominious degradation of being pelted with decayed fruit, rotten eggs, fragments of cabbages, stinking fish, and other disagreeable missiles, some of them scarcely so soft as, if in other respects less offensive than, those just named. It is one of the contrasts with the past, from which modern times need not shrink, that the cucking-stool, the pillory, the flogging at the cart's tail, and the bridle for scolds, have become numbered with the things that have been, and are succeeded by punitive and corrective measures quite as effective, vastly more decent and less degrading, and in a word more corrective than revengeful, and more consonant with the enlightened views of the present age.

COLLECTANEA

RELATING TO

MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD,

AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

COMPILED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED,

BY JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

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